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The Three Crucial Issues of the Peace
II. Collectivism

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The second of three articles on peace

IN the preceding article of this series it was stated that the Second World War grew out of three great pressures that are shaping the course of social evolution, and that the building of an enduring peace depends upon a satisfactory adaptation of our institutions to those pressures. The pressures are: the growth of internationalism, the rise of collectivism, and the widening spread of democracy. If we tenaciously resist the changes made necessary by these powerful forces, they break out into revolution or war; but if we accommodate our social structure to them suitably, then peaceful, orderly progress is possible. The three crucial issues of the peace, therefore, center in the struggles between nationalism and internationalism, capitalism and collectivism, democracy and dictatorship.

The issue of internationalism (which was dealt with in the first of these articles) is widely recognized, and serious efforts are being made, through the various organs of the United Nations, the proposals for a United States of Europe, the Pan-American conferences, and like efforts, to deal with it. The issue of collectivism, on the other hand, is less well understood, and its importance for the peace is only now beginning to dawn upon us, as we contemplate with dismay the threat of communism in Europe.

It is a striking fact that in the war there was a triangular line-up of contrasting economic and political systems. On one side of the triangle were the capitalistic democracies of Great Britain, the United States, and most of their allies; on another side were the militaristic dictatorships of Germany, Italy, and Japan; while on the third side was the Communist dictatorship of the Soviet Union. The last was basically opposed to both of the others, but was allied with our side in the war for reasons of expediency. This clash of contending systems is more than a coincidence, and more than a mere difference of philosophies. It is indicative of a deep underlying pressure that is cracking the foundations of the world's economic and political structure. This pressure has been gathering power for a long period of time, and has now reached the explosive stage.

To understand it, we must realize that for many decades the system of capitalism has been undergoing a subtle transformation. In the beginning it was a system of free enterprise, in which there was widespread competition between thousands of small independent business units. It was accompanied by a liberal philosophy of government that fostered a policy of broad individual liberty. Believing that progress could best be promoted by allow-

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ing the greatest opportunity for the play of personal initiative, it was held that the state should let business alone. Self-interest, operating in a milieu of competition, would suffice to promote the social welfare. In those days the system of capitalism could properly be described as one of free enterprise.

This freedom, however, did not work very well. It led to serious abuses that provoked a gradually increasing clamor for reform. There was ruthless exploitation of labor, fleecing of investors by unscrupulous financiers, grossly unfair methods of business competition, and other evils. Growing out of these things, freedom of enterprise began to be restricted in two different directions. On the one hand, business men, seeking to escape from the difficulties of ruinous competition, began to develop powerful monopolies which obtained a strangle-hold on various branches of industry. On the other hand, the victims of various kinds of business exploitation sought to protect themselves by bringing pressure for regulatory legislation. These two tendencies reinforced each other, for business men organized themselves more and more monopolistically in order to have power with which to combat the growing pressure of governmental restrictions; and the stronger the business interests became, the greater was the pressure of the electorate for more regulation. This pressure was further accentuated by the periodic depressions from which the economic process suffered, and which led to demands for remedial action on the part of government. The upshot of all this was that the intervention of the state in economic affairs steadily increased, until it became apparent that the system of free enterprise was disappearing, and with it, perhaps, the system of capitalism itself. The various measures of regulation that had been enacted represented a long series of encroachments on the rights of liberty and property that were viewed with the greatest reluctance by the capitalistic class, but which they seemed powerless to stop. Where was this trend to culminate?

An answer to this question was provided by the collectivists. They saw in the changes that were taking place much more than a succession of isolated reforms. They regarded them as signs that the capitalistic system was tottering. Looking at capitalism as a whole, they found in it fundamental weaknesses which they believed would accomplish its downfall. Two of these weaknesses were especially serious. These were: the planlessness—the waste and inefficiency—of its competitive way of carrying on production, and the injustice and exploitation inherent in its extremely unequal division of income. The collectivists[1] held that the inconsistencies and conflicts attendant upon these difficulties were responsible for the business depressions from which the system suffered periodically, and that the depressions were bound to grow worse as wealth became concentrated more and more into the hands of great industrialists. Eventually the breakdown of capitalism would be complete. Then the masses would rise in revolt against it. They would take over the basic industries and operate them collectively, through some form of social ownership and management. In the new order so established, the confusion of competition would be replaced by orderly central planning, and the fruits of industry would be more equitably divided.

In the chaos that followed the First World War the collapse of capitalism seemed imminent. With millions of returning soldiers unable to find work, with public finance strained to the breaking point by the impossible burden of international debts and reparations payments, with international trade paralyzed by an epidemic of restrictive barriers—then, if ever, the capitalistic system was working badly. In the state of world-wide depression that resulted from these difficulties, it is small won-

[1] Collectivism is a broad term which includes two principal systems of social philosophy and action—socialism and communism. The socialists have a relatively moderate program. They advocate the social ownership and operation of the basic industries, with central economic planning; but they would retain money, wages, and a price system. They propose to accomplish these things by orderly democratic processes, through conversion of the electorate and success at the polls. The British Labor Party, which has come into control of the British government in just this way, is typical of this group, as is also the Socialist Party in the United States, and the Social Democratic parties of western Europe. The communists are very radical. They believe in violent overthrow of capitalism at the first favorable opportunity. They spurn democracy and advocate a dictatorship of the Communist Party, at least until such time as capitalism is entirely vanished and the people are thoroughly habituated to communism. In the end they hope to do away with money, prices, and wages, setting up in their stead a system of moneyless accounting, and presumably some system of communal sharing of goods in kind, under the general formula "From each according to his ability; to each according to his need." They look upon socialism (which they claim is now in effect in the Soviet Union) as a transition form between capitalism and communism. It is to be noted that the present regime in the Soviet Union does not constitute democratic socialism, and that Social Democrats throughout the world are among the bitterest enemies of the communists, whom they regard as betrayers of collectivist ideals.

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der that the peoples of Europe, distressed and disillusioned, were ready to try any alternative that promised some improvement. Collectivism offered a program that promised to abolish poverty and to establish a new world order—one of international cooperation in which the masses of the working people would be supreme. In Russia, which was the first of the warring countries to collapse, the apostles of the new order had their first real opportunity. The Communists (who represented the extreme left-wing of collectivism) succeeded in coming into power and setting up a collective state. As conditions grew worse in other parts of Europe, the collectivists seemed to be on the point of gaining the ascendency also in Italy, Germany, Austria, and Spain. Here, then, was an impending climax to the undermining tendencies that had so long been developing. What were the capitalists to do?

FASCISM'S SUBSTITUTE

Mussolini and Hitler offered a substitute for collectivism that promised to preserve some semblance of capitalistic institutions. Although democracy and free enterprise were to be sacrificed, private property would be preserved. This appealed to the capitalists. At the same time, the apostles of totalitarianism had a line of propaganda calculated to enthuse the populace. This was based on ideals of patriotism, empire-building, and race mastery. In place of the Marxian diagnosis, which blamed the depressed condition of the people on the inherent defects of capitalism, the Fascists and Nazis blamed it on the oppression of the victorious nations, who had imposed such onerous conditions upon Germany, and to the loss or lack of foreign colonies, which were held to be needed as an outlet for the congested populations of Germany and Italy. They proposed to acquire such colonies and obtain prosperity by building up Germany and Italy into strong military states, whose peoples would demonstrate their superiority and gain a position of world dominance. Mussolini promised to recreate the Roman Empire, and Hitler to unite all the German peoples and give them world supremacy.

The capitalists saw in these movements their only way of escape from the threat of collectivist revolution. Therefore, they threw their political and financial support to the new parties, and so enabled the latter to come into power. Democracy was sacrificed and totalitarian states were created, dedicated to the building up of powerful military empires. So, the threat of collectivism, by driving the capitalists into the camp of the totalitarians, became a cause of the war that followed.

The forces at work in Japan were very similar, except that there the issue was between a dying feudalism and a nascent capitalism, instead of between a decadent capitalism and a looming collectivism. The remnants of a dominant military caste, seeing their power threatened by a rising middle class which was pressing for political reforms with which to improve its position, turned to a program of militaristic expansion in the hope that it would divert the people from domestic problems.

So far as the war in Europe is concerned, it is clear that the pressure of collectivism was an important causal factor, by contributing to the rise of the Fascists and Nazis. These parties frankly avowed their anti-collectivist mission. Both systematically suppressed the communist and socialist organizations in their countries, and imprisoned or "liquidated" the leaders of these movements. Hitler repeatedly represented himself as the savior of Europe from communism. The fact that he may have been insincere in this, and that there were communist elements in the left wing of the Nazi party, makes no difference; the important thing is that the Nazi and Fascist movements were at first *believed to be* anti-communist. The result was that the world found itself divided into two opposing camps—the capitalist democracies on the one hand and the military autocracies on the other. The latter were committed to a program of aggrandizement which could only be carried out at the expense of the former. The former must either submit or fight. They chose to fight, and the war was on!

This line-up of opposing systems put the Soviet Union in an anomalous position. Being neither fascist nor capitalist, it was not naturally allied with either group. By its philosophy committed to a program of world revolution, and expecting to be opposed in this by the capitalistic states (which had indeed promoted counter-revolutionary measures against it during the early years of its regime), it did

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not find itself naturally on the side of the democratic nations. On the other hand, it was faced with the openly avowed intention of the Axis Powers to destroy the threat of communism. Therefore, it belonged logically in neither camp. Yet, if it remained peaceful, it ran the danger of being destroyed by the spread of German power. In this dilemma Stalin, crafty statesman that he is, pursued a policy of opportunistic compromise (which has been one of his outstanding characteristics since he became dictator of the Soviets). He concluded temporarily a non-aggression treaty with Hitler, which gave him part of Poland as a buffer and gained him time to build up the defenses of the Russian people. Then, when the inevitable attack by Germany came, he allied himself perforce with the western nations. But this alliance was one of expediency dictated by a common peril. Recent events have shown that it was not a genuine and permanent community of interests. There is still a wide gulf between the principles of Soviet communism and those of the western democracies, and it presents a post-war problem of the greatest importance and difficulty.

It is apparent from these developments that a clear-cut issue between capitalism, collectivism, and fascism (or nazism) was involved in the Second World War. Victory over the Axis Powers accomplished the defeat of fascism, but it has not disposed of the issue between capitalism and collectivism. Indeed, that issue has only been sharpened by the conflict. The disordered conditions left in the wake of the war in Europe are fertile ground for the growth of radical agitation. The masses of the people, freed at last from the terrible yoke of German brutality, are distrustful of the kind of leadership that turned them over to their oppressors, and are suspicious of the old order that has bred wars in the past and may breed more wars in the future. Besides, they are impoverished and suffering from the conditions of low productivity and interrupted trade arising from the war and its aftermath. Capital has been destroyed, factories dismantled, property confiscated, trade paralyzed, political boundaries redrawn, and whole populations displaced. The processes of individual free enterprise are too slow to wrest from this chaos the speedy relief demanded. Strong measures of central control are necessary. So the people, distressed, disillusioned, and desperate, are turning to militant new leaders, developed out of the resistance movement, and to new social philosophies which promise to put industry in the hands of the people.

All this provides a golden opportunity for the Communists. Led by fanatics who believe that the issue between capitalism and collectivism can be settled only by world revolution, they exploit to the limit the disturbed conditions in Europe in order to prepare the ground for the rise of their party to power. Their organizers, trained and financed by Moscow, schooled in the ways of intrigue and subtle machinations, ruthless in their methods because they believe that the end justifies the means, are everywhere working to undermine the established order. If they succeed (as they have already succeeded in Poland, in Bulgaria, in Rumania, in Albania, and now in Czechoslovakia) a wave of communism will overrun the whole of Europe. In that event the remaining capitalistic nations will find themselves confronted by a coalition of communistic powers that will constitute a constant threat to their stability and security. This could easily lead to another war. Indeed the very threat of it is even now causing western Europe and the United States to make warlike preparations.

How is such a disaster to be avoided? Not, in the long run, by military preparedness in the United States, nor by an armed coalition against the Soviet Union. In the immediate future there may be need for an international (not an American) organized force to make clear to the Russians that further aggressions like the coup d'état in Czechoslovakia will not be tolerated; but history has proved all too often that armed forces are more likely to break the peace than to preserve it. Neither can we hope to solve the problem by imposing reactionary governments upon the people. We did this at first in Italy, and there is reason to suspect that we are doing it even now in Greece—possibly also in China. Such policies are not, in the end, constructive.

A wise policy will be based on a realistic appreciation of the situation. The capitalistic nations must not delude themselves with the hope that the trend toward collectivism can be stopped by repressive policing in the turbulent

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nations of war-torn Europe and Asia. We must recognize that the process of socialization is one of those irresistible pressures that in the long run cannot be balked. The historic trend toward increasing control of industry by the state has arisen out of urgent problems that can only be solved by moving in that direction; for the economic process does not remain in balance and harmony of its own accord. As it becomes more complex, it gets more easily out of adjustment, and requires a greater and greater measure of conscious coordination and planning. This can only be carried out by some kind of collective machinery. Moreover, the gradual socialization of industry is part of man's inevitable destiny; for the history of man is a story of increasing control over the world in which he lives. In the past century this control was directed mainly toward his material environment; and it has given us the wonderful mechanical and scientific triumphs of our age. In the next century it will be turned more and more toward the social and economic spheres, where it should lead to equally great accomplishments. We must, therefore, expect an ever-increasing amount of governmental direction over industry as time goes on. This does not mean that we must immediately adopt collectivism; but it does mean that we must not seek blindly to block the trend in that direction. That would only dam up the pressure until it burst forth in a revolutionary explosion. What we must preserve is the orderly evolution of our economic development, as against revolutionary upheaval. It is not evolution, but revolution, that is dangerous. In this lies the key to a constructive policy.

It is a significant fact that the threat of communist revolution has been most ominous in those countries where governments were most autocratic and where the masses were most oppressed. Communism was first successfully established in Russia because that country had long been the victim of one of the most corrupt and despotic governments in the world. Its people had been kept in ignorance and poverty, ground under the heel of a wealthy, ruthless aristocracy and an equally wealthy and despotic church. In the other countries of post-war Europe the threat of communist revolution occurred only when conditions became intolerable as a result of general economic breakdown. In Europe today the danger of similar revolutions is serious in direct proportion to the collapse of industry and the resulting distress of the people.

If these dangers are to be avoided, our policy must be, first of all, to extend relief to the impoverished peoples of the warring countries until such time as the orderly processes of economic life can be restored. In doing this, we must make no distinction between victors and vanquished. The peace of the world depends upon the creation of sustained prosperity among all peoples. The United States made a good beginning in this direction by its generous Lend-Lease policy immediately after the war; but it made a very bad beginning in adopting the ill-advised Morgenthau plan for reducing Germany to an impoverished agrarian state. Fortunately this mistake is apparently now being corrected. The European Recovery Program will constitute a very constructive move in the right direction. By feeding the people who are hungry and by helping to achieve economic recovery in Europe, it will allay much of the discontent out of which revolution grows. The recent victory of the De Gasperi government over the communists in Italy is convincing evidence of this.

REFORM

In the second place, the western democracies must make certain that the forces of revolution in their own midst are given no chance to gather explosive power. This can be accomplished by proceeding with gradual reforms in their political, economic, and social institutions which will permit the gradual process of socialization to proceed in an orderly way. Orderly progress of this kind is the greatest insurance against revolution. The two outstanding examples of the success of this method are Great Britain and United States. It is noteworthy that the British Labor Party, whose program is definitely socialistic, has been able to gain strength gradually until it has become the ruling party in Great Britain; yet there has been no violent overthrow of established institutions. Under the pressure created by this powerful group even before it polled a majority vote, various reforms were brought about that expanded the scope of social in-

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surance and reduced the inequality of incomes. Now we see it in power, nationalizing the Bank of England, the coal mines, the railroads, the gas and electric plants, and exercising increasing control over the economic life of the British people, without the confiscation of property and without violence or upheaval. In the United States, the New Deal, in spite of some mistakes, provided a similar protection against the development of revolutionary discontent. This is shown by the fact that the socialist vote for president, which in 1920 ran to 900,000 and in 1932 to 885,000, dropped to less than 190,000 in 1936 and 117,000 in 1940. It is shown also by the insignificant vote polled by the Communist Party in this country. The continuance of evolutionary reforms that permit our institutions to evolve in the direction of greater collective control is, therefore, a constructive contribution to our social stability.

This kind of progress will lessen the danger of future wars by reducing the contrast between capitalistic states and those which have collectivist governments. It will demonstrate to the Communists everywhere, and especially to the leaders of the Soviet Union, that their revolutionary plotting against established governments and their ruthless purges of their political opponents are not at all necessary for the attainment of social justice. If the British Labor Party should remain in power long enough to put its full program into effect in the orderly way that is in keeping with British traditions, its example will be especially salutary. Meanwhile, partly through the influence of such examples, we may expect that the leaders of the Soviet Union, and of other countries where Communists are in power, will gradually relinquish their fanatical radicalism, and will slowly liberalize some of their more extreme institutions.

There is evidence that this moderating process is already at work to some extent. As early as 1921, after only four years of experimentation with measures of extreme communism, Lenin and his colleagues discovered that these measures would not work. Thereupon they adopted a much more moderate program in the New Economic Policy that was then instituted. In the years that followed, many capitalistic institutions (such as a sound monetary system, incentive wage differentials, and scientific management in industry) were permanently established. The new constitution of 1936 represented concessions in the political sphere that extended the franchise to all adult members of the population. These liberalizing influences may be expected to continue if the western democracies show by their attitude that they are not going to constitute a forcible check to the spread of collectivism. We must make it obvious to the world that we are not going to interfere with the setting up of collectivist regimes elsewhere, provided these are established by orderly and democratic procedures which represent the will of the peoples concerned, and provided further, that they do not take aggressive forms which contain a threat of revolutionary upheavals in other countries. Such policies will pave the way for a gradual rapprochement between the capitalistic and collectivist nations that will make possible peaceful relations between them.

The Chinese have a saying: "If you hit yourself on the head with a pitcher, and hear a hollow sound, don't take it for granted there is nothing in the pitcher."

A decrepit horse was being offered to the highest bidder. An old farmer watched as a young man in riding breeches bid for the animal. When the sale was completed, he turned to the young fellow. "Tell me," he said, "what on earth are you going to do with that nag?"

"Oh," replied the cocky sportsman, "I'm going to race him."

The farmer took a second long look at the animal. "Well, you'll win," he said.

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How fascism was born and flourished

The Italians

By MARIAN TAYLOR ABBAGNANO

This manuscript is the first chapter of a book: Italy and The Italians—1939-1948 *which Marian Taylor Abbagnano is now writing in Turin. In it, she analyzes astutely the character and environment of the "average" Italian. The editors of* FORUM *feel that this analysis is particularly significant for our understanding of the Italian people with whom we have cast our lot—an understanding made imperative by the recent victory of the Christian Democrats at the polls.*

Mrs. Abbagnano raises disturbing questions: is the unity which the Italians achieved in defeating the Communists stable enough to endure, to overcome the millennial apathy and despair of reform, the deeply rooted distrust and disrespect of government?

ANY generalization about Italy and the Italians is a risky and disconcerting affair. Perhaps the most striking feature of Italy is her lack of cohesion and coherence, the internal division which reigns between regions, cities, social categories, and men. Any attempt at a wholesale judgment or opinion is promptly balked by the disturbing perception that the reverse is also true. With this not very reassuring premise, I shall nevertheless attempt to draw a picture of Italy and the Italians as I have seen them in the last ten years.

Notwithstanding this internal division, there are some characteristics which make up the mental baggage of the "average" Italian, which distinguish and to a certain extent explain his manner of living and his behavior. Despite the moral chasm which divides the North from the South, and in a lesser degree each region from every other, there are certain factors common to practically all Italians, which will help us to outline a cautious but fairly accurate picture of the "average" Italian.

In the first place, Italy is over-populated and poor, much too poor to afford a decent standard of living per capita for her inhabitants, and she has been poor for the best part of a thousand years. A consequence of this is a natural sharpening of wits in order to make one's way, a sharpening of them quicker and better than the other fellow who is the chief obstacle. The Italian possesses an atavic sense that the main obstacle to his achievements is always the other fellow, and never the elements of nature. To dominate the elements of nature requires fortitude, patience, and sturdiness, and provokes a tendency to introspection. But to make one's way amongst one's fellowmen requires above all a nicely adjusted psychological intuition of how the other fellow will behave. And this the Italian possesses to a very high degree, deriving it not from introspection but from centuries of forced contact with his fellow men.

In a country less blessed with innate gentleness and sunshine, the result of this situation would be a hard-fisted, cold-blooded fight to oust the other fellow from the position of vantage he holds. But this is impossible in Italy for various reasons. Even if the Italian did not possess the qualities of equilibrium, meas-

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ure, gentleness, and generosity which characterize him, it would be impossible. For the Italian is not a "hustler" in any sense of the word. He is willing to work hard and indefatigably to obtain certain things which he considers essential, but he seldom works for the mere sake of success or power or efficiency. He always subordinates the amount of work he is willing to do to certain other things he considers essential, such as his freedom to feel he is his own master, to enjoy life, to enjoy his work. His endeavor for a livelihood can always be taken with a grain of salt.

Another thing which prevents the Italian's being a "hustler" is the result of centuries and millenniums of civilization and experience: the fundamental, ingrained conviction that no effort of any kind will ever substantially change or improve his condition in this world. He has seen civilizations rise and fall, men of genius come and go, and still no substantial novelty has been brought about. Nothing really ever surprises him, and towards the foibles of others and towards himself, he naturally possesses the generosity and equilibrium of judgment of the very experienced. What may surprise him, and leave him slightly incredulous, is to hear that someone has actually succeeded in righting a wrong or repairing an injustice. He is intimately convinced of the uselessness of any serious effort in this direction, for experience has taught him that things never go really very badly nor really very well with or without his exertion, and that a sort of half-resigned, half-humorous confidence in the ultimate issue of any situation is fully justified. But he is by no means a pessimist, for he lacks the fundamental material which makes a pessimist: illusions to be shattered. (This attitude concerns chiefly Italy and the Italians; with other people and nations, he is apt to be distrustful of their faults, credulous about their virtues, and enthusiastic for their reforms.) Though proverbially liable to enthusiasm, he is not gullible and excels in the art of debunking its roots, especially in other people.

Two other important factors in the mental baggage of the Italian, though often unconscious, are none the less powerful in shaping his mode of thinking. The first may be considered one of the fundamental causes of the internal division already mentioned, regionalism. The unity of Italy was accomplished scarcely 80 years ago, and most Italians still think, behave, feel, rear their children, *regionally* rather than nationally. The second is a latent inferiority complex toward certain other nations which characterizes practically every Italian. This manifests itself as a painful awareness of the faults and failings of his own country in comparison to the other countries he admires (England, United States, Switzerland, Scandinavia, and in a lesser degree, France). No other man is perhaps so perfectly aware of the failings of his own nation as the Italian. So much so that, though he admires other people who stand up for their country in the face of criticism, and will stand up for his own if the criticism happens to be unfair, he considers pure rot and nonsense any rhetorical effort to distort or disguise the truth about his native land. The natural consequence of these two factors, the regionalism and the inferiority complex, is a tendency to throw the blame for the nation's failings upon the habits, traditions, and modes of living of some other region. So the Italian will say: "we are disorganized, we are behind the times, we have a regrettable tendency to swindling, our peasants and our poor are dirty;" but he will be thinking, unconsciously, *they*.

INFERIORITY COMPLEX

The question of the inferiority complex is a very important one and must be closely examined. Why does the Italian feel inferior—not as an individual, but as a nation—in respect to other nations? A Spaniard, a Greek, a Roumanian—only to mention countries less fortunate than Italy—usually does not. And what are those characteristics which, in his eyes, discredit his nation, and in acute cases lead him to despise and hate those of his compatriots who embody them? If one listens to the torrent of self-accusation which the Italian in a moment of bitterness and sincerity pours upon his countrymen, one may very well remain convinced that the country has definitely gone to the dogs, that the only thing to do is to remove those few people who still retain a faint sense of dignity and morals, leaving the remainder to stew and rot in an ever-increas-

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ing maelstrom of putrescence and self-destruction. The greater part of these accusations are, to a certain extent, true. And yet, in their global import, they are beside the point. And obviously, their importance lies not in their statement but in the conclusions the average Italian draws after having stated them.

Lack of public spiritedness, complete disregard for the law, political corruption, disorder, unreliability, dirt. These are the principal thorns in the side of the Italian. The lack of public spiritedness is undoubtedly widespread, and the average Italian knows it and feels it acutely. He knows that he cannot count on his average countryman (or on himself) to place the public interest before his own private interest, nor to pick up stray newspapers in public gardens, nor to enforce the law for the mere pleasure of being law abiding, nor in fact to do anything in view of the public good if it does not happen to coincide with his private interest. And even if individually he does admire other people for doing these things, and sighs nostalgically, he will refrain from setting the good example at home for fear of ridicule. He also knows that his average countryman (and he himself) is by atavic nature recalcitrant to the law. He knows that laws are passed in view of the recognized fact that people will not obey them unless they happen to find them convenient or particularly sensible. (The system of taxation is a flagrant example of this: taxes are so high that in mere self-defense it is necessary to declare about one-third of the actual income or profits; but initially the rate of taxation was set so high because it was expected that the actual income or profits would never be declared). In fact, in some cases the Italian considers the enforcement of the civil law as an imposition upon his freedom, an outrage to his individuality. And yet, he admires and envies other countries where the law is enforced and public spiritedness prevails, and will sigh and shake his head saying: "there's a really civilized country for you!"

In my opinion, the cause, if not the justification, of these two characteristics may easily be detected in the past history of Italy. Because for centuries his land was sectioned in many regions, some of which were ruled by autocratic foreign governments, the Italian is

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totally devoid of the sense of participation or responsibility in the government of his country. He does not feel that his country is something which each man and woman, past and present, has helped to build, something for which in however slight a degree he is responsible, something about which he could eventually be proud. For centuries his government was "given" to him without his advice or approval being asked; and the only right that he firmly vindicated, his only demonstration of individuality and freedom, was to disapprove and criticize what the government did. *And* to elude those dispositions he disliked, using for the purpose the fertile resources of his nimble wit and his boundless fancy. On the other hand, this was done and still is done with a fundamental sense of measure and equilibrium; disregard for the law is the humorous correction, by the man of the streets, of the follies of foolish and incompetent politicians. Gandhi's civil disobedience was discovered and put into practice by the Italians centuries ago.

Political corruption and the consequent disorder of public administration is another and more serious thorn in the Italian's side. He is perfectly aware of it; so much so, in fact, that politics are almost always considered a "dirty job" from which decent people abstain. The

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ideals which prompted Mr. Smith to go to Washington would not take hold of a schoolboy in Italy, not because he is incapable of moral standards or virtuous enthusiasm or straight thinking, but because he knows beforehand of the utter failure of any such venture. And the Italian is resigned to this state of affairs, putting his hopes not in a reform of the politicians or an improvement of the civil administration, but in his own ability—provided the government is not too strong or too aggressive—to pull through. Nevertheless, he will shed a tear over Mr. Smith at Washington and say: "there's a really serious country for you!"

CORRUPTION

The question of unreliability is another painful one. Many Allied officers and men have left Italy with the impression that it is easier to find a needle in the proverbial haystack than an honest Italian. That is, of course, an exaggeration. Still, one must admit quite frankly that the highly organized swindling and thieving of Allied troops and materiel, especially in southern Italy, probably broke the blackest of all records. The Italian knows this and suffers by it. He is painfully aware of any episode of swindling, climbing, or profiteering, which he sees around him. And yet, placed before the dilemma himself, pushed by difficulties, need, and poverty, he will perhaps succumb to the temptation. Centuries of experience have taught him that in a chronically poor and over-populated country it is extremely difficult to make one's way and achieve a satisfactory position merely by one's deserts. An ambitious Italian who has "arrived" has almost always made some little compromise with his conscience. If he has made it, it rankles in him and he ascribes its necessity to the unfortunate condition of his country and the low level of moral virtues. And if he has not made it, and stood the consequences, he will despise his countrymen who have, for the discredit they throw on his nation. And thus the internal division between Italians is deepened, the inferiority complex towards other nations strengthened.

The Italian's attitude towards other nations oscillates between credulous admiration and complacent disparagement. When he is placed before the manifest faults and failings of some country which he has set high in his esteem, he will be at the same time surprised and disappointed. But however great his relief to learn that his country is not the only one to have faults, deep down within him he always knows that there are other factors—greatness, wealth, culture, civic virtues—which still place that other nation far beyond his own.

In the face of this inferiority complex, how does the Italian react? What effect does it have on his attitude and behavior?

There are only two possible outlooks for this complex: the one, to accept things as they are, try to see the qualities as well as the faults of Italy, and do one's job the best one can; the other, to attempt reforming the country. The first is the attitude of the great majority of the Italians, it is *the* truly Italian attitude. The second—in good faith, in a country more gullible and more juvenile—*might* generate patriotic prophets and social reformers. But twenty or more centuries of experience and wisdom have made the Italian a poor subject for enthusiasm about reforms. He just won't "kick." He knows it's no use. So any attempt to reform the Italian people, to eliminate its blemishes and failings, must be coercive.

And this is how fascism was born and lived for 20 years in Italy. Mussolini had the most purulent inferiority complex that ever perverted the mind of an Italian. The prime ambition of his life, the secret agent which prompted his every move, was his desire to climb—as an individual and as a nation—to the same level as the countries of which he was envious. The few followers who really believed in him were animated by the same spirit: a spirit which had an easy hold on them since it played on one of the fundamental characteristics of the people. The effect and cause of this spirit, in a vicious circle, is contempt and disparagement of the Italians *en masse*. Mussolini, his followers, and the bulk of the population, all of them knew that Italy is not so public spirited as Scandinavia, not so politically and civically mature as England, not so wealthy, so powerful and youthful as America, not so honest and clean as Switzerland, not so disciplined and organized as Germany, not so culturally and politically important as France. The sane reaction of the balanced

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mind to this state of affairs is a realistic acceptance of the unavoidable and an endeavor to appreciate and develop the many compensating qualities. And the Italian par excellence has a sane, balanced mind. But those who had not, those in whom these statements caused a festering wound and who sought to soothe this wound by any means regardless of its feasibility, rallied around Mussolini. Hence the unrealistic basis of fascism, hence the self-inflicted blindness and intoxication, hence the coercion supported by boomerang propaganda. And hence the lasting damage inflicted by fascism upon the Italian people. For fascism accentuated their most negative characteristics: inferiority complex, internal division, superficiality, political apathy, the tendency to rely upon one's wits rather than upon satisfactory institutions to obtain those things which in an orderly state pertain to the government.

For this last was the reaction of the average Italian to fascism as a government (not as a doctrine or as a creed). "Things are going badly? The officials are incompetent, profiteering, swindling, and running around in their uniforms instead of doing their jobs? Oh well .... things never went very well anyway; and somehow we'll manage, in spite of the government." (As I describe it, I must beg the forgiveness of all those Italians who suffered morally and materially by fascism, who hated it intensely, and preferred to forfeit the success of their careers rather than take out the party membership which was necessary for practically any enterprise or achievement. But they were not the mass, the "average" Italian).

The attitude and the reaction of the average Italian towards fascism as a political doctrine which involved his country and himself, though hard to define generically, was somewhat similar. It is useless here to stress the absurdity, the folly and blindness, the mistakes and faults of the fascist government. Plenty of evidence has been given elsewhere on this subject. What is interesting is to wonder how such a preposterous regime took hold of the country and flourished for 20 years when nobody really wanted it or liked it. There could be no greater mistake than to imagine that fascism had the support or approval of the majority of the population. (In the 12 years during which I lived in fascist Italy, always moving in Italian circles, I met exactly *three* convinced fascists). But it would be a still greater mistake to imagine Italy during the fascist period as a nation of dissident slaves subjugated by the autocracy of a powerful government.

The kernel of fascism as Mussolini understood it was to impose upon the Italian people an order, a discipline, a moral and material uniform, by which he could push them willy-nilly—and himself—to grandeur. But Mussolini had not reckoned with the mentality of the average Italian. A successful coercive reform would have required, on the part of the people he wanted to lead to grandeur, precisely those characteristics which they lacked: discipline, a capacity to be organized, public spiritedness, respect for the law, gullibility. And we have already seen that the impetus of enthusiasm, youthful ardor, and self-sacrifice, which Mussolini thought he had inoculated into the people, was totally incompatible with their mentality. So fascism as Mussolini understood it was destined from the beginning to utter, miserable failure in Italy. And *because* it failed its initial mission, because nobody took it really seriously, because it contained the germs of its own disintegration and became more or less the plaything of those who should have sustained it—and because the people of Italy knew this, it lasted 20 years.

The people of Italy had been used to being dissatisfied with their government. They were used to compensating the failings of their government by means of their own wit and common sense. They are by nature indulgent in their judgments, and they are convinced of the uselessness of any real effort to change or improve their condition. They are convinced that "things never go really very badly or really very well"—a conviction founded upon experience. They know that the natural equilibrium of their mentality would prevent even the sustainers of fascism from taking it too seriously, and that despite the bombastic propaganda and the howls of enthusiasm it was really only a question of enjoying the airs of importance some people gave themselves. So the people of Italy sat by and watched the annoying and at times amusing government-child playing its black-shirted pranks. And they carried on with their jobs and somehow managed to keep the country going in spite of the government.

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A model for international study

HOW SCANDINAVIA COOPERATES

By GUNNAR LEISTIKOW

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WHAT is known in Scandinavia as *nordisk samarbejde,* approximately "Nordic cooperation" in English, is one of the most successful and outstanding examples of mutual collaboration between peaceful and friendly nations.

In a way, it is similar to the cooperation of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It works smoothly without any overall machinery. It is very down-to-earth and factual in its approach to problems. It is based on mutual understanding without any need for translations and interpreters, and on a common ground of nearly identical cultural traditions. Indeed it is more extensive than any similar international effort in the world. It has even achieved common legislation for many of the most important fields of commerce and daily life to the extent that there is, today, a greater homogeneity of law between the Scandinavian states than, say, between New York and Florida. Other aspects of Scandinavian cooperation are coordination of foreign and economic policies, cultural ties, and organized forums ranging from meetings of cabinet ministers, bishops, and parliament members to conventions of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals.

The basis for all these activities is a strong feeling of kinship between the Nordic nations. This emotion is decidedly less intense than the feeling of patriotism and allegiance to the individual nation, but it is more pronounced than the feeling of solidarity between the Anglo-Saxon nations. It is comparable to the pervading spirit of *latinidad* and *raza* of the Spanish speaking peoples.

This emotion is as old as the Scandinavian peoples. When the three Nordic kingdoms arose about a thousand years ago, linguistic differences were so slight that the old Norsemen conceived their vernaculars as one single language, the "Danish tongue," as it was called.

This community of speech seems to be the root of the idea of kinship and solidarity. The law code of the old Icelandic vikings accorded "heirs of Danish tongue" and "men from the three kings' realms where our language is spoken" a privileged position compared with other foreigners. In a similar way, the law code of the Swedish province of Västgötland of about 1200 A.D. stipulates higher *wergild* for the manslaughter of a Dane or Norwegian than for the killing of an Englishman or German.

The feeling of Scandinavian brotherhood became a matter of practical politics when, during the later Middle-Ages, peasants from the Norwegian-Swedish border regions met and pledged themselves in solemn "peasant peace treaties" to maintain peace and brotherly relations no matter how much their soldierly kings warred against one another.

Today the affinity of language is one of the basic elements of Scandinavianism, although mutual understanding is no longer quite so easy as in bygone times. Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes can become accustomed to the sound of each other's languages within a few weeks. Modern Icelandic however, is no longer understood outside Iceland and the Faeroe Islands, and Finnish, a language of non-Euro-

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pean origin, is entirely unintelligible to any Germanic Scandinavian. But although Iceland threw off her last legal ties with Denmark when she became a republic in 1944, she still upholds cultural connections with her Scandinavian sister countries through the teaching of Danish in Icelandic schools. And in Finland, Swedish is the second official language and, since 1947, has been taught in all schools, although it is the native language of only 11 per cent of the inhabitants. When co-nationals of the five peoples gather, understanding is assured without interpreters by alternating use of Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish.

Feelings of brotherhood between the Scandinavian nations were running particularly high in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the surge of pan-German nationalism imperilled the frontiers of the southernmost Nordic monarchy, Denmark, and in 1864, led to the loss of the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg. Volunteers from Norway and Sweden swelled the ranks of the Danish army. There were even attempts to link the throne of Denmark with that of the already united kingdoms of Sweden and Norway by electing King Oscar of Sweden-Norway hereditary prince of Denmark.

Such personal unions were a well-known instrument of government in Scandinavia. From earliest times, the Nordic thrones have repeatedly been linked together. Denmark and Norway were united for over 400 years, from 1375 to 1814, and when Norway was finally ceded to Sweden, she was not absorbed by the Swedish state, but remained an autonomous entity under a common Swedish-Norwegian king until 1905. Another union was instituted as late as 1918, when Denmark recognized Iceland's independence under the condition of joint royal power, but it came to an end in 1944, when the Icelanders in a plebiscite chose an indigenous republic in preference to a foreign monarchy.

Attempts to unite all three kingdoms, however, were unsuccessful. A union existed during the Middle Ages, from 1397 to 1527, and when during the ensuing centuries Denmark and Sweden contended for the mastery of the Baltic Sea, a royal union was repeatedly suggested as a means of ironing out conflicting interests. But nothing came of it.

Such unions are no longer practical. Experience has shown that joint royal power is usually considered very unsatisfactory in those countries where the union king does not reside. Both Norwegians and Icelanders felt that the union was lopsided, and freed themselves from it at the first opportunity. Royal power in the Scandinavian states is now so limited that very few problems could be solved by the mere fact of the fusion of the heads of the states. The issue is complicated by the fact that two of the five countries, Finland and Iceland, are republics headed by elected presidents.

So practical Scandinavianism has had to seek different ways.

ECONOMICS

An immensely, practical approach was found in the 1870's in a monetary convention similar to that of the Latin countries. Until the convulsions of World War I, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish coins and notes, all denominated in *kroner* and *ore* were legal tender in each of the three countries.

This reform favored closer commercial ties, and the resulting extension of commerce again created the need for better coordination of the laws covering bank drafts. This was achieved in 1880 through the unheard of procedure of enacting an identical bill in all three countries, after a joint committee comprising members of each of the three parliaments had agreed on exactly corresponding texts.

This inter-Scandinavian Bank Drafts Act of 1880 was a tremendous, history-making success. From then on, almost every important new codification was arrived at in the same way, whenever conformity of law was considered advantageous. And when Finland and Iceland obtained independence in 1918, they too participated in this coordination of civil law. The most important of such coordinated codifications are the Navigation Act of 1892, the Law on Purchase and Selling of 1905-07, the Marriage Act of 1921-25, and many laws regulating the use of trade marks, insurance, trade registers, bank checks, commercial agents, selling on the installment plan, promissory notes, and the right of property.

Such efforts to obtain greater harmony in legislation are greatly facilitated by the fact

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Loring in *The Evening Bulletin*
"SCARED? WHY SHOULDN'T THEY BE!"

that principles of law and conceptions of justice are largely identical in the Scandinavian countries. Their common law is practically the same, and their inter-relations throughout the ages have resulted in great legal conformity at least within two large regions. Finland, as an integral part of Sweden until 1809, took part in the big reorganizations of Swedish law in the eighteenth century such as the codification of civil law in 1734. Finland's autonomy under Russian rule enabled her to keep these reforms on her statute book. Norway received her codification in 1687, the so-called "Christian V.'s Norwegian Law," largely an adaptation of the corresponding Danish code, "Christian V.'s Danish Law" of 1683. Iceland was at that time a Norwegian dependency, and "Christian V.'s Norwegian Law" was, therefore, in force in that country, too. Thus, Scandinavian legislation was already organized in two wide spheres, one Swedish-Finnish, and one Danish-Norwegian-Icelandic, when efforts toward further coordination began at the end of the nineteenth century.

The coordination of Scandinavian law is not only extremely comprehensive, but it is at the same time flexible and adapted to local conditions. There is no obligation for any parliament to adopt every detail of a bill prepared in joint committee. Each state is free to make any change in an agreed-upon text it sees fit. One of the countries may refrain from enacting a bill which the others make the law of their lands. The coordinated texts not being treaties, each state is also free to amend or abolish such laws, at will. Since increasing coordination of law is the admitted goal, the individual parliaments are usually reluctant about making use of their sovereign right to make such changes, without first negotiating the case or having it discussed at one of the "Nordic Jurists' Conventions", meeting every third year, or even at one of the periodic joint sessions of the Scandinavian ministers of justice.

When Denmark and Norway were occupied by the Germans during World War II, all inter-Scandinavian legislation had to be postponed. But after the end of the war it was renewed very soon with great vigor. At the time of this writing several important bills are under preparation covering citizenship, old age pensions, unemployment insurance, and several other social reforms. These bills will make it possible to receive social benefits in one country even if the receiver has paid his dues in another Scandinavian state. This is the result of the war-time experiences of thousands of Norwegians and Danes who fled to Sweden and found refuge in that country. Many personal ties were knitted during that migration, and when the refugees returned to their homes they were in favor of easier access across the frontiers. Many radical solutions were discussed such as federal union and/or common citizenship after the example of the Danish-Icelandic Union Act of 1918 which accorded Danish citizens in Iceland equal rights with Icelanders and vice versa. However, Scandinavians prefer practical measures of limited scope to broader schemes, and so far endeavors have been confined mainly to the slow establishment of a common labor market in fields where one or the other country suffers from lack of labor.

Another interesting outcome of the efforts to lower the migration barriers is the exchange of officials and technical personnel between the city authorities of the Scandinavian capitals at the instigation of the city of Stockholm. Exchange of college students is being promoted on an extended scale under the auspices of a recently nominated Nordic Cultural Commission.

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Yet, easier access across the borders must not be abused by anti-social elements. Bigger criminals are subject to extradition. A bill is being prepared that will make it possible to recover fines and execute sentences of lesser prison terms pronounced by a criminal court of one country in all the other countries. Special arrangements are being made to prevent Danish and Norwegian quislings from finding refuge in another Scandinavian state. Decisions in civil lawsuits of one country can be executed in another since in 1861 Sweden and Denmark signed a special convention to that effect. This convention was also signed later by Norway.

Another field of cooperation between the Scandinavian states is foreign relations. When the first World War broke out a few years after a Danish Defense Minister had declared war unthinkable in modern times, the three Nordic nations woke up to the rather uncomfortable realities of the day. As small nations who had nothing at stake, their main interest was identical: to keep away from the strife of the big. Neutrality was the watchword, and in order to impress the contending powers with the sincerity of their peaceful intentions, the three kings met in Malmö in September, 1914, upon the initiative of King Gustavus of Sweden, and issued a joint proclamation. This and ensuing meetings of kings, premiers, and foreign ministers alleviated Russia's doubts about the intention of her former arch-enemy, Sweden, and also assuaged German suspicions of Danish vindictiveness for 1864.

The success of this neutrality policy of the Scandinavian states—more due to favorable circumstances than to their merits—had the psychological effect of what could be called a neutrality complex. Neutrality became an axiom, a cure-all of the little nation. In Geneva, where the Scandinavian delegates used to confer before the assembly meetings, decisions were often based on the chances for keeping the little ones out of trouble, rather than on the merits of the case.

When international danger signals in 1932, led to the resumption of the periodic meetings of the Scandinavian foreign ministers, all governments involved agreed about the wisdom of continuing on the path of neutrality. Efforts to establish a Nordic defense pact were discouraged for fear of provoking the mighty. Anyway, such schemes seemed rather unrealistic, since the Danes feared Hitler Germany, while the Swedes, and even more the Finns, were worried about the Russians. At the same time the Norwegians fancied themselves in security in the shadow of a peace-loving Britain that supposedly ruled the waves.

During the "phoney war" of 1939, neutrality with a capital "N" seemed once more the solution. But not for long. War came to Scandinavia, when Russia attacked Finland in 1939, and even more dangerously so when Germany invaded Denmark and Norway in April, 1940.

The war put an end to all practical coordination of Scandinavian foreign policy. For a while it even seemed to be the end for good. Finland was placed, willy-nilly, on the German side. Norway felt drawn toward her new allies and proclaimed this new orientation as a policy even for post-war times. Denmark was muzzled by the German occupants and had no refugee government abroad to interpret her secret thoughts. Only Sweden managed to keep an uneasy balance on the top of the fence.

Yet the different fates of the individual countries could not efface the feelings of unity. True, Swedish concessions to the Germans early in the war aroused bad feelings among the fighting Norwegians, but before long they opened their eyes to the advantages of Swedish benevolent neutrality for the cause of Norwegian resistance. And after all, were not the Swedes clinging to that very policy each of the Northern nations would have preferred, if only the big belligerents had allowed it? The Danes and the Finns felt grateful to the Swedes for the hospitality accorded to their refugees. And, as far as the Finns were concerned, both Norwegians and Danes felt pity rather than scorn for that nation whom fate had placed in the German boat.

The breakdown of the Nordic neutrality policy led to all sorts of new schemes. Norway proclaimed in 1942, that she considered herself primarily an Atlantic nation. Finland was placed, whether she liked it or not, in the Russian orbit by the mere fact of her defeat, and must now coordinate her foreign policy with that of the Soviet Union. The Danes re-

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mained stunned from the breakdown of their cherished neutrality and never found the way to any alternative. They just fumbled along, professing allegiance to the United Nations Charter and hoping for the best. In Sweden the collapse of the neutrality of all her neighbors produced during the war a number of new projects for future use, ranking from a Nordic defense league to full-fledged federal union. But further events made all these plans seem rather unrealistic. Military authorities agreed that a common defense against an aggressor armed with modern equipment must be based on intimate Swedish-Finnish collaboration centered around the Gulf of Bothnia and the Oland Islands, because Scandinavia is otherwise simply not broad enough for a defense in depth. The defection of Finland put a premature end to all these plans.

A solution seemed to come from without. When the United Nations organization was founded in San Francisco in 1945, the new international unit was hailed all over Scandinavia as an organism that might realize the smaller countries' old dream of collective security and make war and neutrality questions of the past. The world-spanning new structure was also welcomed for another reason. It was hoped that it might help bridge the apparent cleavage between Norway's new Atlantic orientation and the more traditional isolationist trend still alive in Sweden, and possibly, at a later date, bring about new ties with segregated Finland.

Some of these hopes were fulfilled in less time than expected. Scandinavian cooperation was immediately renewed and extended, on the official level as well as by private organizations. Whatever temporary discord had been noticeable was ironed out within months. Denmark was admitted to the United Nations under Norwegian sponsorship in 1945, and in the following year even neutral Sweden became a member, recommended by both Norway and Denmark.

But the split of "one world" into "two camps" left the Scandinavians with few, if any illusions that collective security had been attained by the United Nations. Apprehension is spreading that the widening rift may ultimately lead to a new contest between giants, in which small nations have everything to lose and nothing to gain. This fear has already fostered a certain trend toward renewed neutrality, although hardly anybody believes that neutrality would be feasible in a World War III of the Atomic Age.

Excluded from this neo-neutrality trend is Finland. But this exclusion is only due to the fact that defeat has deprived her of an independent foreign policy. How little her present tie-up is of her own volition is clearly shown by the attempt she made to wriggle out of the friendship and military support pact which the Soviet Union forced upon her recently. Even when negotiating with the Russians, the Finns never made any effort to conceal their wishes. In his letter to Premier Stalin accepting the Russian proposition to conclude a military agreement, the President of the Republic, J. K. Paasikivi, wrote: "Especially after the hardships endured during the past wars, the Finnish people hopes to be able to remain outside of international conflicts. . . . "

The uneasiness about things to come and the feeling of strength in unity has forged Denmark, Norway, and Sweden into what could be called a Northern bloc within the United Nations. This bloc is welded loosely with the traditional minimum of machinery. Yet, it has already become a tradition that the foreign ministers meet prior to the General Assembly to discuss the issues, and that the Scandinavian delegates coordinate their efforts in Flushing Meadows and Lake Success much as the Latin American delegations do.

The established policy of this Northern bloc is to try to iron out the differences between the giants in accordance with the principle that prevention is better than cure. A typical example of this policy is the Swedish proposal to have the General Assembly establish a special committee to determine the underlying causes of the Balkan dispute rather than condemn the three indicted Soviet-dominated countries. It was not surprising that this proposal was seconded immediately and wholeheartedly by Norway. The Scandinavian countries have all had excellent experiences internally with a middle-of-the-road policy of tolerance, understanding, and compromise, and they have managed to establish between them a fine example of international cooperation with completely democratic methods.

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FREE ENTERPRISE IN FRANCE

By EDWIN MULLER

Socialism has been tried

MANY Americans believe that France has gone most of the way toward socialism and will soon go all the way. They see many French industries already nationalized and think that the wave of nationalization will sweep on until it engulfs all industry. They assume that in France free enterprise as we know it is dead or dying.

The facts are otherwise. Nationalization came with a rush at the end of the war during the Communist participation in government. Railways were already state owned. The coal mines were nationalized. So were the big public-service monopolies: electric light and power, gas. Also the largest banks.

But most industry remained under private ownership. Nationalization reached only a little way into the field of manufacturing. The majority of the airplane factories were nationalized. So was one of the largest automobile manufacturers, Renault. Other industries were on the list for the immediate future: steel, chemicals, the merchant marine.

All this happened by mid-1946. Then the trend toward state ownership and management halted. There have been no more nationalizations. The merchant marine, operated by the government during the war, has been returned to private enterprise. Steel and chemicals are still privately owned. There is a movement to restore aviation construction to free enterprise.

What happened? The fact seems to be that nationalized industry has had a try-out and that the majority of Frenchmen don't like it. They have had opportunity to compare the operation of private and state industry in the same fields. For example, in airplane manufacturing.

From the beginning there were rumors of incompetent management and failure to produce in the nationalized factories, until last year the government ordered an investigation. There were two independent reports, each made by one of the leading inspectors of the Finance Ministry. The two reports agreed on the facts and in their judgments. They were a damning indictment of nationalized airplane manufacture.

They showed how the former managers of the factories had been replaced by political appointees. How the latter had awarded jobs all the way down the line to pay political debts, hiring men who were inexperienced and incompetent. As a result the payrolls expanded without corresponding increase in production. For example, the reports estimated that the aviation motor industry required 11,500 men; yet 23,000 were employed. The industry as a whole had 40 per cent more men than were needed. A large part of the increase was made up of nonproductive white-collar clerks.

To recondition a certain type of plane, the national factory required an average of 3,000 man hours, the plane was immobilized from three to four months, and the job cost 600,000 francs. To do the same job, the private factory required an average of 1,500 man hours, the plane was immobilized less than one month, and the job cost 300,000 francs.

The reports observe that under nationalization the French airplane industry has fallen behind other nations. "Its planes lack the modern improvements which others have installed." Air France, the government-owned enterprise which monopolizes French civilian air transport, refused to accept many French-made planes because of faulty construction.

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These official reports were widely publicized. They helped the average Frenchman form his opinion of nationalized industry.

It may be worth-while to compare French shipbuilding with French airplane building.

After the war, the government proposed to nationalize shipbuilding as it had plane building. The owners of the shipyards protested. Let them have just one chance, they said, to show what they could do under private ownership and management. The shipyards had suffered tremendous war destruction. It would cost eight billion francs to restore them, and if government took them over it would have to put up the money. Whereas if the yards were left with their owners the latter would try to raise some of the money themselves. Government agreed.

Government advanced 2.2 billion for restoration. The owners were able, by private financing, to raise 3.56 billion. With that they went to work.

They have done a remarkable job. After two years shipbuilding has already been restored to 80 per cent of its pre-war production total. And that has been done at the same time that the yards were being rebuilt, often from a state of total destruction. As a result, nobody in France, outside of the Communists, is talking about nationalizing the shipbuilding industry.

RENAULT AND CITROEN

The two largest automobile companies in France are Renault and Citroen—the one government-owned, the other privately owned. Their competitive position is somewhat comparable to that of General Motors and Ford in the United States. As to how this competition stands now, here are the opinions of two men who are familiar with the inside workings of the French automobile business and whose official positions should make them impartial. Their opinions agree closely.

They say that the competition isn't fair, since the government is giving Renault priority in steel and in machine tools. Nevertheless, they say, Citroen is making and selling as many cars as Renault. It has the edge on the export market. And, as an index of efficiency, Citroen's production is much nearer its capacity than that of Renault.

One of my informants thus describes the management of Renault under nationalization: "In any big and successful automobile company you feel a centralized, well-coordinated direction at the top. Like a puppet show in which all the strings are held and pulled by the proprietor. That used to be so of Renault. Not any more. The strings have gone loose and slack, and are getting tangled up."

The average Frenchman's chief interest in the matter is as a taxpayer. The general opinion is that, since its nationalization, Renault has cost the government something between two and three billion francs. Citroen costs the state nothing and pays taxes.

Next we come to the public-service monopolies which are nationalized: railroads, electric light and power, communications.

State ownership of railroads is well established in Europe. And it must be said that the state-owned railroads of France have done a good job in repairing war damage and restoring service. The French telephone system, too, has always been a state enterprise, like the post office. To a foreigner the telephone service seems abominable, but Frenchmen are used to it. There is little demand for private ownership either of railroads or of communications, except for the radio. Before the war radio was part state, part private. The listener had a choice of programs. Now he must listen only to those of the state, and he is bitter about it.

But when it comes to nationalized light and power the discontent of the average Frenchman is deep. Before the war, electric light and power was private industry. It was concentrated in seven or eight combines, covering among them all of France.

They were much criticized as trusts and monopolies. Nevertheless they didn't do too badly. The industry expanded steadily, doubling about every ten years. And the expansion was financed on private investments with almost every Frenchman, down to the peasants, owning a share or two of light and power stock. The shares paid good dividends and the rates were not excessive.

After the war the industry was nationalized and a large expansion of production facilities planned. This was necessary to aid in the economic recovery of France. But now Frenchmen won't support state industry financially except by compulsion. So the deficits had to be

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met by the state. They grew and grew—became one of the causes of inflation, of the decline of the franc.

At last government decided that it could follow that path no further. The only alternative was an increase in rates to the consumer. The rate doubled over night. In most inflations—our own, for example—electric rates have lagged behind other mounting prices, far behind the price of food. In France they run ahead. In 1948 the cost of food in France is about 14 times that of 1938. Electric light rates on January 1, 1948, were 19 times those of 1938.

It was a catastrophe for the French householder. Many people whose houses were wired had to give up the use of electricity entirely. Nearly all had to cut down on its use. As this is written, the government is making a supreme effort to lower the cost of living. A small decrease in electric rates is promised. But then government apparently will have no alternative but to reassume the deficits of the industry—or halt expansion.

The French consumer has the same quarrel with the nationalized coal mines as with electric light and power. If he heats his house by coal—and not many are lucky enough to do that—it costs him 17 times as much as pre-war.

THE MINES

An increase in coal production was urgently needed for the revival of industry. The total production has in fact been raised to 12 per cent above the pre-war level. This was done by increasing the number of miners, largely by the employment of displaced persons and prisoners of war. But under nationalization the production per man has dropped to 20 per cent below the pre-war figure.

When the mines were nationalized the Communists were in the government and a Communist was put at the head of the industry. He installed hundreds of "supervisors" who knew little or nothing of coal mines. They were in fact Communist organizers—on the public payroll.

The organizers did their party work well. They appointed Communist foremen who made the job very hard for non-Communist workmen under them.

Now, with the party turned out of the government, the head of the mining industry is no longer a Communist. But even so, it is a question whether the mines can be run efficiently under nationalization.

Recently Belgium was debating whether or not to nationalize their coal mines, and the Belgian Senate sent a committee to investigate the French mines. The report was completely unfavorable: "Nationalization," it said, "prevents efficient exploitation of the mines, weakens the management, destroys the sense of responsibility of the directing heads, does not decrease labor trouble. The mixture of politics with industry is disastrous." The committee recommended that the Belgian mines continue under private ownership and management. They have.

French private industry has made a wonderful record since the war. Here are some figures of current production, 100 being the level of 1938. Sheet steel, 131; aluminum, 146; rubber, 124; cement, 122; wool, 108; cotton textiles, 100; rayon, 154; chemical industries, 110 to 129. And remember that many factories had been destroyed, many others stripped of their machines, that manpower had been weakened by four years of occupation.

There is a new spirit in French private industry today. To understand it one must look at the past.

In the period which ended in 1939 a considerable part of heavy industry had come under control of small, interlocking groups. The "200 families." The *Comité des Forges*. In the industries thus controlled, prices were fixed, competition eliminated, resulting in restricted production and a high margin of profit.

At the same time that they kept prices up, these groups tried to keep wages down. They fought labor and its demands with extreme bitterness. Labor fought back in the same spirit. There were parts of France where employers and employees hated each other worse than they hated Hitler.

Today one doesn't hear much of the "200 families." The president of the "patronat," the French manufacturers' association, is Georges Villiers, head of a small manufacturing company; and many of his associates are of the same category. Small business constitutes a

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larger proportion of French private industry than before the war. With that has come some revival of the spirit of competition, and a determination to restore a free market. More industrialists are working on the principle of large production at a small margin of profit.

Most important, perhaps, is the evidence of better relations between employers and labor than those which existed before the war. Of course, one mustn't be too hopeful. The Communists still dominate many of the unions in key industries, and they will continue to use that domination to try to destroy E.R.P. There may well be another wave of strikes.

But the majority of French workmen are not Communists. They want to work, and in contrast to the bitter enmity before the war, they are willing to go part way to meet the employers in agreeing on terms and conditions of work.

On the employers' side also there is a more conciliatory attitude. During the last two years some 600 firms, most of them small ones, have inaugurated profit-sharing plans. Many others have taken steps to improve working conditions: such as installing shower baths, providing free lunches, free vacations for workmen's families.

Those are some of the factors which explain the remarkable recovery which French industry has made since the war. Americans need not despair of the future. It has been feared that E.R.P. aid is going to bolster up a completely socialized state, a nationalized industry, a way of life opposed to the way of freedom. On the contrary, this aid goes to a nation where the love of freedom, including free enterprise, is reasserting itself.

Liberty is still the first watchword of France.

The fashionably attired matron was stopped at the church door by an usher.

"May I see your invitation to the wedding?" he asked.

"I have none," she snapped.

"Are you a friend of the groom?" the usher ventured.

"Certainly *not!*" was the indignant answer. "I am the bride's mother!"

—*The Sign*

According to Walter Yust, editor-in-chief of *Encyclopedia Britannica* publications, one of his most harassing jobs is the training of new employees. A filing clerk once caused considerable confusion by listing "gallstones" under *Geology*. But her error was nothing compared to that of the beginner who, casting about for the proper division for "physics," put the article in the direct action category!

—*Quote*

Before he was called off by executive order, a major airline pilot gave conniptions to timid passengers with his distorted sense of humor.

He would wait until the going got bumpy, and would then stroll through the cabin with a book under his arm.

The title, which he kept prominently displayed, was: *How to Fly in 20 Lessons.*

—*New York Daily Mirror*

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Democracy and People

By WALLACE ARNOLD

THE late Albert Jay Nock, whose book *Memoirs of a Superfluous Man* is a stimulating "must" for all thinkers, had a whimsical way of saying that democracy is a wonderful thing if you have the people to operate it, and then adding: "But, friends, we just ain't got the folks." Whether or not his conclusion is correct, if applied to the English speaking peoples, is a subject on which there might be endless discussion. It isn't the purpose of this paper to attempt an answer, but rather to indicate some factors that might be of value to anyone seeking to satisfy himself as to what the answer might be.

When the founding fathers of this country decided that all men should be free men and upon reaching their majority should be entitled to vote, they committed the new born nation to a governmental process which posed a tremendous challenge to good citizenship. Practically all of the political scientists of their day agreed that the proposition was fantastic and impractically idealistic. For men of intelligence and discernment to exercise the franchise was, of course, understandable, but for the ignorant, thriftless, and often ne'er-do-well members of the community to have an equal voice in the government with the man of industry, property, family, and responsibility simply was not good sense.

Our forefathers, however, gave no heed to these conservative counsels. The years that have followed have demonstrated in some measure the soundness of their convictions and their vision of a free nation, for certainly the United States of America has proved in more than a century and a half to be a nation unique in the history of nations. This is not because the voice of the majority of the people is always right, but possibly because such a voice is less wrong most of the time than any other "voice of government" ever has been. The philosopher of ancient Rome who said, *Vox populi non est vox dei,* has provided a reminder for all thinkers down the intervening centuries, not to fall down and worship any instrument of human government however alluring its form or effective its operation over any period of time.

The logic of Mr. Nock's homily seems to be inescapable: you have to "have the folks," if the franchise is to be exercised consistently for the highest good; and there are unmistakable evidences in these latter days that "the folks" are more greatly needed than ever before; that unless they are available, our civilization is approaching a turning point wherein its continued existence is seriously—perhaps fatally threatened.

Human history is a long record of the rise and fall of nations. Today the searchlight of scholarly analysis is being turned on England and the trends that brought her through the industrial revolution to a great height of imperial success, and then on to her pitiable economic plight of today. The voice of the people expressed in the freest elections held anywhere has recently placed in power a government filled with promises of good things it has not the slightest ability to bring to pass.

The exercise of the ballot by all of the citizens should be a sacred responsibility in which all should strive to enlighten themselves. This, of course, is the ideal. Since the early 1930's, however, in this country, it would seem that the efforts of the politically minded have been redoubled to "win votes," as it is called, through any manner of deception, that could be found adequate to mesmerize the electorate. The end, i.e., to win the election, would justify almost any means. Modern psychology, individual and mass, has grown by leaps and

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bounds and has been engaged to serve the purposes of those who seek power and must gain the votes to do so. No public office in the land, including the presidency itself, is too high for its incumbent to refrain from governing his conduct except with a view to calculating what power groups will be won or alienated—power groups controlling so many hundreds or thousands of important votes.

"Controlling votes"—the very expression is repugnant to a free man, and the practice of it subversive to the basic concept of the purpose of universal suffrage. The political machines, whose sordid grip on a dozen or more large American municipalities is a national disgrace, exist only because of an electorate that is easily corrupted—because of votes that can be bought or sold for a pittance, because of voters who are not fit to be citizens of a free nation. It may be said that the situation herein described is nothing new, that it has persisted for generations, and that conditions today insofar as municipalities are concerned are better, on the whole, rather than worse.

Possibly this is so, but the contention is made that the trend toward general demoralization on a national scale is increasing and has been increasing in the last 20 years. The public imagination that it is a function of "big government" to take care of all from the cradle to the grave has been tremendously stimulated. Votes for these purposes have been sufficient to elect one president to four successive terms of office, while the nation's future was mortgaged to the tune of several billion dollars a year regularly, and the process of "voting" money out of the pockets of the "haves" into the pockets of the "have-nots" went gaily on.

The signs of the times are ominous—although there is great hope in the ingrained common sense of the English speaking peoples. Collectivist schemes have deceived many, but we may wake up before it is too late, and revert to a deeply rooted conviction that individuality is sacred and that free enterprise is a high expression of it; that government cannot ever succeed as a paternalistic enterprise, but must be contained within the limits of certain specified public functions, such as provision for the national defense, and police powers. Too much government is an offense to free citizens, and the tendency for government to multiply its functions grows like a creeping paralysis.

Training in the duties of citizenship should be a basic course in all school curricula. Every boy and girl in the land should be thoroughly impressed that when he becomes a voter and goes to the polls, he is a free man, casting a secret ballot; that he is unaccountable to any human being for how he votes, but must be guided by his highest sense of right and by nothing else; that he must learn to discern motives, avoid pressures, prejudices, mass hysteria, and all other purely emotional considerations. Further still, he must be taught to realize that the prosperity of his country depends upon his faithful performance of his voting and other responsibilities of citizenship; that to absent himself from the polls unnecessarily is serious negligence. An electorate made up of conscientious citizens has nothing to fear. Unless we have such an electorate, we are, in a degree, exposing ourselves to the same fate that has befallen too many nations, especially in recent years wherein plebiscites have been taken on various occasions and only affirmative votes for the powers that be, counted. These farcical elections are the extreme consequences when the people's indifference to their duties as citizens is exploited.

One more thought. This generation has seen the discovery of atomic fission. This "devil's secret" is safe only in the hands of angels. In unscrupulous human hands it can be used to reduce the entire earth to the burnt out consistency of the moon. In the hands of honest people it can be harnessed to the building of a new era of comfortable civilization. Which shall it be? The answer depends largely upon the integrity of all of the peoples of the earth, more particularly at present on that of those who have the know-how and freedom to use it.

It becomes, therefore, increasingly vital that those nations which are striving the most earnestly to bring peace to earth and to promote the blessings of right living, heed with great seriousness the challenges of the times—to become stronger in the soundness of their governmental processes, the honesty of their economic administration, and the preservation of their liberties. There is no other real basis for national strength and greatness.

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JASPER R. LEWIS

Books in brief

THIS Was Normalcy, by Karl Schriftgiesser, (Atlantic-Little Brown, $3.00), is a deftly told chronological story of the 12 Republican years between Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover era. In its way it is a caution sign for today. Just as in 1920 the cards were stacked for a Republican victory and the party leaders picked Harding, in 1948 the Old Guard, similarly confident, may select a candidate who will be subservient rather than a leader.

Schriftgiesser is too wise a writer to insist on this possibility. Rather, by assembling a consistent narrative of what went on in that period, and how the big boys worked, he displays the pattern of national politics for the voter to observe. The author's earlier *Gentleman from Massachusetts:* Henry Cabot Lodge, incorporated the tragedy of Wilson and the League of Nations. This new volume takes up the national scene from there. Again Lodge is an early and potent figure, a president maker, according to the author, determined to make sure that the country under a hand-picked Republican president would settle back into normal Republican administration.

Here is the record of that normalcy. From selection of its candidate in 1920 to the fall of Hoover in 1932, that record is one of inept leaders and selfish politicians. The Harding story, to which Schriftgiesser devotes much space, possibly as the foundation of the evil years, is still as sordid reading as ever. His administration, even aside from Daugherty and Fall, was offensive to decency both morally and politically. Lesser figures in official life served not the state but their own ambitions. A few stand out for incorruptibility or genuine effort; one of these is Henry C. Wallace, father of the current candidate. La Follette (senior), Borah, and Norris were also exceptions, but sometimes misled in their fervor.

One of the most noticeable talents of Schriftgiesser is his ability to sketch a brief vignette of a character and in so doing create measured distrust or disapproval. In writing of Dawes, he notes that he resigned from the R.F.C. just prior to borrowing ninety million dollars for his Chicago bank. Many national figures, viewed with awe and respect by voters in the 'twenties, are shown to have been little better than ward politicians on a grand scale. And miner John L. Lewis was even then battling the government.

It has been overlooked, too, that Harding packed the Supreme Court to much the same effect that F.D.R. did. Four appointees, all classified as reactionary, including Taft, were "nineteenth century men." Taft was to preside over a court that killed child labor laws and minimum wages.

When Coolidge as vice-president succeeded to the presidency upon Harding's death, there was no great change in affairs. In several pages of analysis of Coolidge, Schriftgiesser concludes there is "just one thing in Calvin Coolidge's favor: he did not look like a president." He was a "seventeenth century orthodox Christian. . . . He was fundamentally unchanged by the sudden event. Nothing could change Calvin Coolidge." And nothing did.

His successor, Herbert Hoover, the prophet of "two cars in every garage," saw the beginning of the end, the economic disaster that led to the depression which rounded out "the years of normalcy." Like his predecessors, he receives a low rating from the author, particularly for lack of constructive and liberal leadership. Throughout the book, however, the activities, even if unsuccessful, of the Democratic party are recalled, especially in the presidential conventions, so that there are concurrent paths of political effort. The machinations in both Republican and Democratic camps are something to behold. It is hardly likely that they will be any different this year, and that is another good reason for reminding the intelligent voter of the past.

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Chiefly it is the delineation of the big figures, the real characters behind the thin veneer of press build-ups, that arrests attention. The voter would do well to study these things in an election year. Schriftgiesser is saying: "Behold, and Beware."

* * *

Curiously, here is another description of part of the same period. *Postwar Years: Normalcy, 1918-1923,* by Frederic L. Paxson, (University of California Press, $6.50), relates the narrative of the Harding era. Professor Paxson's account is confined to dignified recital of fact, without unbending to brash appraisal of men and events. Even the Fordney-McCumber tariff act, admittedly protectionist in policy, is mentioned without condemnation. It is, however, his references to Harding that make the reader recall the famous story of the widow who, listening to the funeral encomiums, directed her son to peek into the casket to see if it were her late husband. Professor Paxson and Karl Schriftgiesser should meet.

BRIEFER COMMENT

BIOGRAPHY

The life story of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, which is the history of the Fabians, and social welfare in England, is told in *Our Partnership,* by Beatrice Webb, (Longmans, Green, $5.00). Mrs. Webb completed the work before her death in 1943, and the editing was done by Barbara Drake and Margaret I. Cole. It is, of course, a tremendous work, covering some 50 years, and the roster of names, with the author's comments and opinions, includes the politicos, writers, and foremost thinkers of the period.

George Horace Lorimer and The Saturday Evening Post, by John Tebbel, (Doubleday, $4.00), is first a biography of the famous editor. Secondly, it is the history of the development of the *Post* between 1898, when it was gasping for life, and 1937 when it was a tremendous property. Many of the now famous writers who contributed to the weekly are introduced and, in a way, are subjects of brief biographical notes.

Shortly before his death Fiorello H. La Guardia began work on his autobiography. *The Making of an Insurgent,* (Lippincott, $2.75), covers his first 37 years, from Arizona to Congress in 1919. M. R. Werner, who worked with La Guardia, mentions some of the former New York mayor's idiosyncrasies in friendly fashion.

Eagle Forgotten: The Life of John Peter Altgeld, by Harry Barnard, (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $5.00), offers in a Centennial Edition the story of the Illinois political figure and one-time governor, originally published ten years ago. Here again is Debs and the Haymarket Riot, and a picture of political life that is an education in itself.

France Warfield's hearing was impaired when she was a young girl. In *Cotton In My Ears,* (Viking, $2.75), she tells of her trials and troubles. A cheerful disposition and a sense of humor make it a happy book.

FICTION

One of the funniest and yet purposeful books of the war was *Mr. G. Strings Along.* Robert Wilder, its author, now has a romantic novel in *Bright Feather,* (Putnam, $3.00), which goes a long way back in the history of Florida to make a tale of settlers, Indians, soldiers and traders, all the ingredients for a lusty novel full of action.

Wisconsin Is My Doorstep, by Robert E. Gard, (Longmans, Green, $3.50), is a collection of tales about that state and its people, along the lines of folklore. The stories are entertaining and the situations descriptive.

Another tribute to Wisconsin is *My Uncle Jan,* by Joseph Auslander and Audrey Wurdemann, (Longmans, Green, $2.75). This fictional account of a Czech family in Wisconsin, their home life, progress and development into Americans, makes pleasant reading of the old fashioned "homebody" type.

I Never Saw an Arab Like Him, by James Maxwell, (Houghton Mifflin, $2.50), is a volume of stories centered in Tripoli during the war, about Jews, Arabs, and Englishmen. They are told with humor and tragedy. Some of the stories previously appeared in magazines.

A problem novel dealing with religious

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prejudice, *This Precious Dust,* by Rita Kissin, (Ziff-Davis, $3.50), starts in pre-Hitler Bavaria and finds its way to America. The background of war, with its hates and violences, runs through the book. There is good character study and frank treatment of the question of intolerance.

Gerald Kersh has another excellent volume for those who like fiction a little off the beaten path. *The Song of the Flea,* (Doubleday, $3.00), is placed in London; its characters are realistic but strongly individualistic and maybe pessimistic. It is good reading.

The Edge of the Night, by John Prebble, (Sloane, $3.50), is a war novel about a Londoner in Germany and his impressions of the German people under occupation. The German girl who explains her countrymen's feelings is emotional, but not too convincing in the role of apologist.

MISCELLANEOUS

Henry A. Wallace offers his political and economic creeds in *Toward World Peace,* (Reynal & Hitchcock, $1.75), which is partly discussion of our attitude toward Russia and partly the author's ideas of the domestic situation. By this time Wallace's thoughts on both are too well known to be repeated here.

The Rise and Fall of Third Parties, by William B. Hesseltine, (Public Affairs Press, $2.50), will be a blow to Wallace. Professor Hesseltine has examined American history for groups in revolt against the regulars. He believes neither present major party represents properly a large segment of the population, and Wallace's new movement "isn't going anywhere,"—it is only an "offer to substitute a new bureaucracy and a new police for the old."

In the Society in America Series, here is *Memphis Down in Dixie,* by Shields McIlwaine, (Dutton, $4.50), a sprightly history of the Tennessee city, its people and its politics from its founding to Boss Crump. The early history is amusing and reminiscent of everything the South stands for. The reader who has met Crump before, however, in the pages of recent books will be puzzled by the author's evident praise of the political boss.

South and Central America and their inhabitants are the subject of *Lands of the Dawning Morrow,* by Carleton Beals, (Bobbs-Merrill, $4.00). Based on a nine-months' trip from Rio Grande to Cape Horn, Beals has not only an interesting travelogue but a good evaluation of what is going on down below our own border.

France: Paris and the Provinces, by Roger Roumagnac, (Whittlesey House, $4.50), is one of the most attractive volumes to come this way in some time. It is an introduction to France, its people, history, customs. Nearly every page has its illustrations, many in color, conveying a veritable breath of France. It will be enjoyed by anyone with any sentiment at all for Paris.

Books on prejudice are often too delicate or too offensive. *A Mask for Privilege:* Anti-Semitism in America, by Carey McWilliams, (Little, Brown, $2.75), is a calm discussion of prejudice, but one that does not mince words. McWilliams traces prejudice against Jews in America from 1877—the beginning of the economic revolution—to the present, with thoughts intended to help solve the problem.

Also along the line of prejudice and intolerance, Thomas A. Bailey in *The Man in the Street,* (Macmillan, $5.00), tells some unpleasant truths about ourselves, our many groups of nationalities, and the influence of public opinion on America's foreign policy. The author quotes some definite examples. There is much to be learned about the workings of our country.

Hollywood on Trial, by Gordon Kahn, (Boni & Gaer, $2.75), is the report on the trials of the ten Hollywood figures before the Committee on Un-American Activities, with testimony and comment.

In *Freedom and the Administrative State,* by Joseph Rosenfarb, (Harper's, $4.00), there is a good exposition of what "planned economy" is and how it may be obtained. The author believes it is a coming "must" and argues its beneficial aspects over our present individualism. Without agreeing with Rosenfarb, one must admit much logic and persuasive opinion. It is forward looking and instructive.

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The Faultless Dead

How faultlessly well-bred
Are the exémplary dead
Who never ask for more,
Who never slam a door,
Who make no needless noise
Or ever lose their poise.
Gossip they seldom hear.
For slander, a deaf ear.
Never the questioner,
How they defer, defer.

The Base-Stealer

Poised between going on and back, pulled
Both ways taut like a tight rope-walker,
Fingertips pointing the opposites,
Now bouncing tiptoe like a dropped ball
Or a kid skipping rope, come on, come on,
Running a scattering of steps sidewise,
How he teeters, skitters, tingles, teases,
Taunts them, hovers like an ecstatic bird,
He's only flirting, crowd him, crowd him,
Delicate, delicate, delicate, delicate—now!

—Robert Francis

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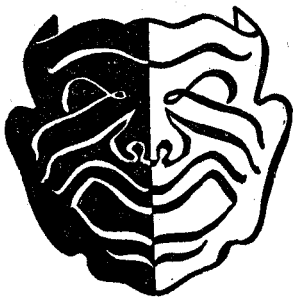
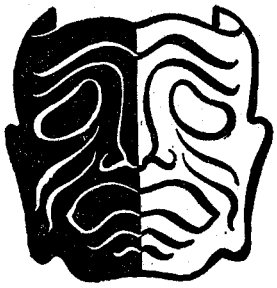


The THEATRE ARTS



by John Gassner

A late spring awakening brought stimulation, as well as the customary agony, to Broadway and the stimulation in particular is worth noting. Much of it came from the visit of the famous Habimah, which was born in the electric month of October, 1918, as the Hebrew language studio of the Moscow Art Theatre. Acquiring for its director, Eugene Vachtangov, Stanislavski's ablest assistant, the company achieved fame instantly with its first full-length production, S. Ansky's *The Dybbuk,* in 1922. Since then, according to the recording angel, this folk fantasy has been played over a thousand times in 19 countries and 78 cities. The Habimah came to our attention when it invigorated the New York season of 1926-27 after making an extensive tour throughout Europe. But its natural habitat was obviously Palestine, to which it repaired in 1928 after the Soviet regime, then ideologically opposed to nationalism, made its disapproval felt (the use of the Hebrew tongue expressed a Zionistic tendency). The Habimah flourished in the Holy Land and acquired a modern building three years ago in that most modern of cities, Tel Aviv. With a portable stage, the actors tour every important town and city in the land, and they have to date produced more than 80 plays.

The Habimah's idealism is apparent not only in its triumphant creation of theatre in modern Hebrew, a language that incidentally makes an impression of remarkable dignity and grace, but also in its cooperative system which features no star and makes variation in salaries depend, not on the size of the roles or the importance of the actor, but on the length of his service and the size of his family. During the war the Habimah distinguished itself by its service to the armies stationed in the Near East, and it is today a mainstay of morale in embattled Palestine. Its visit here, under the sponsorship of Theatre Incorporated and the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions, is decidedly timely. I don't know to what extent the Jewish people of Palestine will benefit from this tour, though I should conclude that they will do so abundantly in funds and good will. I am certain, however, that the American theatre and the Broadway public are indebted to the Habimah for the magnificent example it is giving us not only of ensemble acting but of imaginative staging.

At this date, the Habimah has reached the half-way mark of its repertory with two plays, the aforementioned fantasy, *The Dybbuk;* translated into Hebrew by the renowned poet Bialik, and Calderon's biblical chronicle, *David's Crown.* The production of the former was a restrained but remarkably fluid and vivid re-creation of the story of the poor student lover who possesses the body of his beloved after he dies from heartbreak because her wealthy father pledges her to another man in violation of his oath. It is a romantic play that culminates in the exorcism of the lover's ghost and the death of the maiden. It is Gothic in spirit and ghetto in background, and the staging gives rich realization to both background and romance. But it does so with a difference that should disabuse anyone who has thought of the Hebrew Theatre as merely a linguistic variation on Jewish Art Theatre style, as represented, let us say, by the famous Maurice Schwartz. The Habimah's style, which stems from European modernism in the

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dramatic and fine arts, is possessed of cool orderliness. It can create such stunning *morbidezza* as the beggar scene and dances in front of the rich man's home, and these may well have been conceived by no less a master than Pieter Brueghel. But the stage direction sedulously subordinates gargoylism and even passion to the art of stage composition; exoticism exists only where it is inevitable and right; frenzy is absent; and whatever grandeur appears in the production belongs to the imagination and is projected in the best of taste. It is "theatrical" theatre rather than peephole, realistic showmanship, but it does not violate the sense of reality. Altogether, the production levies claims upon the imagination while maintaining at the same time such a flow of stage action and stage presence that a knowledge of Hebrew is virtually unnecessary once the program acquaints us with the outlines of the story. This is pure theatre—as "pure" as theatre can be—because it signals psychological states and plot developments through action and picturization. There is much to learn from this lesson in stagecraft.

The Habimah's production of *David's Crown* fell short of *The Dybbuk* only to the degree that the text in certain sections was less susceptible of representation without verbal communication. In other respects this chronicle of the last years of David's reign was even more distinguished in staging. The story concerns David's difficulties with his four sons, each of whom has designs on the crown, with Amnon's lust for his half-sister Tamar, and Absalom's vengeance and revolt. Each scene was rendered with the tonality most appropriate to it. The production ran the gamut of effects from hilarity, climaxed by murder in the sheep-shearing scene in which Absalom avenges Tamar, to the funereal bleakness of the final scene, in which Absalom's cortège reaches his father along a ramp that provides as memorable a stage picture as I have ever seen. Most impressive of anything the Habimah has offered us to date, however, was the acting of Aaron Meskin as David. We no longer see such a dense realization of character as he gave. It possessed the substantiality that Louis Wolheim had for a while in *What Price Glory?* and that Harry Bauer and Charles Laughton got into the best of their films. This actor is, moreover, endowed with a voice that has all the shadings and sonority of an organ, and it is plain that long training with his peers in a theatre collective, as well as a highly personal gift of voice and figure, accounts for this triumph of acting art.

Apart from the histrionic talent of the company, we observe several distinct qualities that make the Habimah the great theatrical unit it undoubtedly is. First, we note the art of grouping characters, which may be correctly denoted as *orchestration* because the grouping is ever in flux; a grouping is established, creating the proper symbolization of what is happening or what is being felt, then it is disestablished without disarrangement, and then re-created. A second factor in the production is the scenic component, which suggests a background with a minimum of enclosing scenery and literal detail. Only significant details are selected for visualization, and often an environment—even the presence of figures who belong to the background—are symbolized. A good example is provided by the use of a few geometric lines on a backcloth in one of the court scenes of *David's Crown;* they represent soldiers of the bodyguard, whose true relation to the story is best symbolized in this manner because they are not supposed to have any personality for the dramatic purpose; they represent a force or a condition of court life, and nothing else. The Habimah also makes creative use of the acting area, raking the stage and using different levels for expressiveness; sometimes it is a space stage, consisting only of ramps and architectural forms. Never do we get a sense of confining areas.

This treatment is perhaps the best visual expression of the universality of the idea, story, and psychology of a play. The audience knows, then, that it is looking at a stage even when a special locality is denoted; and since the stage proper, as opposed to a meticulously carpentered room, exists out of time and space, exists as an absolute, we concentrate upon a mode of expression that holds true for humanity in essence rather than for a particular person in a merely local setting. The particularization which we call individuality is left to the actor, who characterizes by his performance and personality. Even the costuming is designed first of all for expressiveness and

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only secondarily, if at all, for telling us that such and such a person wore such and such clothes for such and such occasion. Light fuses all these elements in its magic, weaves a kind of music through them, and serves as an additional means of expression with notable effect. Make-up is another specialty of the Habimah, and it ranges from the expressionistic use of masks to simple make-up that is more symbolic than is customary on our stage. Wigs, beards, and headpieces abound, transforming actors far beyond our regular experience, even if occasionally the means employed suggests a desire to economize. Finally, this company knows how to use music not as relief but as a means of heightening tensions and expressing subjective states; and it does so with an admirable avoidance of the conventions of operatic and incidental music.

That many of these accomplishments are not really out of our native sphere was indicated fairly convincingly by the Experimental Theatre's production of three *Ballet Dramas* by John Latouche, author of the now famous *Ballad for Americans,* and the young composer, Jerome Moross. The category to be postulated for these playlets, which tell their story by combining music, song, and dance in an expressive amalgam, is difficult to define. Some newspapers sent their dance critic to cover the proceedings. But the standards of ballet are misapplied here, and it is more correct to view the performances as a venture in theatrical expressionism.

The first of the three numbers, *Susanna and the Elders,* represents the biblical tale as a sermon preached by a country parson with the aid of talented members of his congregation who enact the title roles and even the bushes through which the villainous Elders peeped. The hillbilly version is not remarkable in plot but is striking in the manner of its projection as a species of folk comedy in which dancing and pantomime predominate. The second item, *Willie the Weeper,* represents the dreams and frustrations of "the chimney sweeper who smoked a reefer" by a sequence of episodes in which Willie finds himself rich, powerful, and in love. The high point of the choreography comes when Sono Osato gives a low-down version of "Cocaine Lil" in Willie's erotic fantasy. But it is the sweep and swirl of the performance as a whole that makes *Willie the Weeper* a contagious piece of theatre. Here the congregational presentation of Susanna is supplanted by a musical narrative powerfully rendered by Robert Lenn, a baritone who plays "Singing Willie," while the choreographer Paul Godkin dances "Dancing Willie." The last of the three "ballet ballads," *The Eccentricities of Davey Crockett,* conveys episodes from Crockett's life as told by himself. Dances, superbly conceived by Hanya Holm, are paralleled by songs, and by these means we pick out the story of Davey's birth, growth, marriage, Indian fighting, hunting, election to Congress, dispute with President Andrew Jackson, and decision to go to the rescue of the Alamo where his career ended. The result is a brief chronicle, heroic, comic, fantastic, and altogether permeated with the spirit of the American frontier.

It would be too much to say that all the pieces were equally successful as either theatre or ballet, partly because the Experimental Theatre operates under great difficulties; partly, also, because the form of this unique kind of theatre has not yet been sufficiently set. Latouche and Moross have not yet determined the degree to which narrative and dance must mesh, merge, and emerge out of each other. All that is worth noting at this stage in the development of this experimental style of drama is that it widens horizons in the theatre. It also bounds away from the stultifying conventions of a jabbering stage where everything of moment is expected to be expressed verbally. This might have been supremely satisfactory in the great days of Elizabethan rhetoric but casts a pall on a stage whose writers couldn't write a really striking passage of poetry to save their lives.

There is, of course, room for a more intimate, leisurely, and conversational theatre. But it is surely worth more than passing notice that the best example to come our way recently is Molnar's old comedy, *The Play's the Thing,* which, far from taking itself seriously, manages to "rib" both life and theatrical art. The featherweight story concerns the efforts of an elderly playwright to lead a young composer into believing that his fiancée was merely acting a part when she was overheard in a compromising situation with the sentimental

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actor who had made her both his star and his mistress at the beginning of her career. For this purpose the playwright concocts an absurd farce, the satirical point of which will probably be missed by those acquainted with French farces of the Scribean era. The play within the play device, the parody on French farce, the burlesque on old-school actors, and the rampant ingenuity of the devising playwright are all contributory to theatre which uses the stage with *insouciance* and zest instead of taking itself with the solemnity of a village preacher. There is nothing provincial about such antics, and their vitality is confirmed by the fact that innumerable stage efforts of a more earnest nature have faded while *The Play's the Thing* remains fresh.

The current production has itself a good time, which is the most important thing to say about it. It plays with the curtain, letting it come down tentatively several times while the playwright speculates on how he would end the situation if he had to make a play of it. Louis Calhern's playwriting Sandor Turai has a delightful imperturbability, and is playing theatre with life whenever life threatens to make a mess—which is perhaps the only point of the play; life, we may say, is so stupidly theatrical that only an expert in theatre could straighten it out. Although the young actor playing the lovesick composer leaves something to be desired, and even if minor comic business with a talkative waiter becomes somewhat tiresome, the production provides an engaging evening of make-believe.

In conclusion, let me report the good news that Jose Ferrer and his City Center company have started their warm-weather repertoire at popular prices. Their first production was Ben Jonson's long admired comedy, *The Alchemist,* from which a good deal could have been expected. The City Center company performed the play very competently and without the unnecessary horseplay it employed in staging *Volpone* earlier in the season. It was, indeed, absolutely superb when it gave the prologue of the comedy in dumb-show, and the director, Morton Da Costa, is to be congratulated on this piece of creative work. Ferrer, Couloris, Ezra Stone, Hiram Sherman, and Nan McFarland, who makes a delightful Doll Common, were never less than able. If somehow *The Alchemist* never quite prevailed over this reviewer, and the reasons for this are largely speculative, the City Center nonetheless deserves commendation for the effort.

When a suffering friend asked Mark Twain what could be worse than having a toothache and earache at the same time Twain suggested: "Rheumatism and St. Vitus's dance."

"Our choice is to live high for a few years while letting Russia seize the world and use it against us, or to live hard and be subject to no master but God."

—William C. Bullitt

"Ruth," moaned her long suffering husband, "you promised you wouldn't buy a new dress. What made you do it?"

"Dear," replied the modern Eve, "the devil tempted me."

"Why didn't you say: 'Get thee behind me, Satan'?" the poor man inquired.

"I did," the little woman replied sweetly, "and then he whispered over my shoulder: 'My dear, it fits you just beautifully in the back.'"

—*Wall Street Journal*

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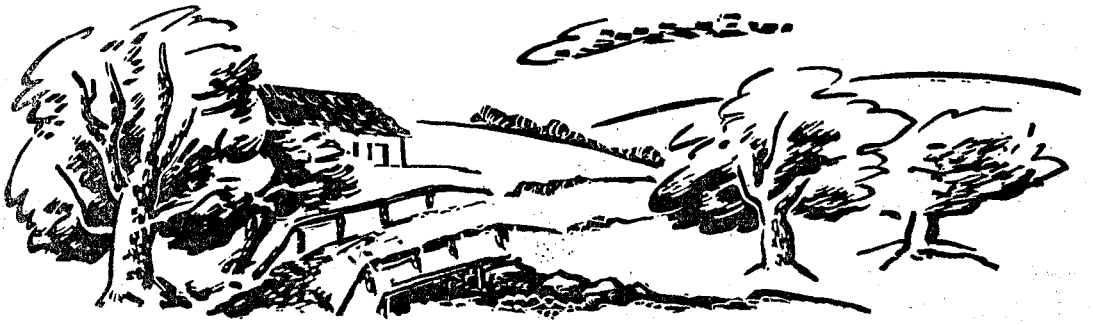

COUNTRY COMMENT

I learned the other day that eagles inhabit mid-western Massachusetts where I live, finding sanctuary on the steep islands of the great Quabbin Reservoir. The woman who told me stood at her kitchen window and showed me, if not eagles, a segment of hill and sky where eagles are often seen.

"Plenty of people see them," she said, "without knowing they are eagles."

"Isn't it a pity," I remarked, "that such a noble bird has to be identified with our greenbacks and our gold."

This opinion she swept aside by saying that anyone was hopelessly lost who thought money was anything more than a row of figures. She had worked in a bank and knew.

Though I never worked in a bank, I have observed the eagle on the back of the dollar bill more closely, I warrant, than she has, more closely than has many a bank president. Unlike our local eagles, this is an unmistakable one. It carries 13 arrows in its left claw and an olive branch in its right. The olive branch, to be sure, being a very bristling sort of branch, might not be recognized as olive unless one knew what to expect. If the arrows symbolize war and preparedness for war, the olive, clearly, has no taint of appeasement but stands resolutely for peace with honor. Precisely 13 sharp-pointed leaves are borne on the branch, and exactly 13 olives. The bird bears in its beak a streamer with the words *E Pluribus Unum*. All this I can attest to since I have made observations with a magnifying glass.

Obviously the bird is loaded to capacity and can carry no more. But there poises above its head a sort of round cloud in the center of which are 13 stars. And in front of the bird (impossible to say whether or not attached to it) is a shield with 13 stripes. Both wings are fully spread as are also the tail feathers which unaccountably number only 9.

Just how much can a bird be asked to carry and still be able to take off and fly?

Eagles come very close home to me. There is an eagle in one of my books of poems. It occurs on the copyright page and beneath the bird are the words *A Wartime Book*. Here the eagle, swooping downward, is apparently in swift flight. In its beak it too carries a streamer: *Books are weapons in the war of ideas.* Clutched in its talons is something I first took to be a briefcase until I concluded that it was only a good-sized book.

I had not previously thought of my own book as a weapon in any war; or if I had, not in any war that an eagle would sponsor.

Perhaps we have taken the eagle too much for granted, those of us who are not ornithologists. Or we may have been guilty, like the writers of sentimental poetry, of what one modern critic calls "glib oversimplification." Actually the American eagle is a richly complex bird, as any modern metaphysical poet should be among the first to see. For metaphysical poetry, according to the same critic, is poetry that seeks "primarily an assimilation of the diverse and discordant." Embracing as it does both war and peace, arrows and olives, plunder and unity, banking and poetry, English and Latin, the American eagle might claim to be the most metaphysical of birds. What metaphysical poet could do as well?

ROBERT FRANCIS

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YES!

By MARION GREENE

"THE report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights is grounded in several fundamental assumptions about the American people," begins the committee chairman, in his introduction to the 178 page "study." "We believe that they cherish freedom and want to see it protected and extended. . . . We believe that they have the intelligence to come to enlightened opinions, after calm and mature consideration of a national problem."

It is with the hope that the chairman is correct, that the American people *do* cherish their traditional freedoms and can distinguish political tempests from reality, that I venture to write in opposition to the committee report. That the report deals with a "national problem" is untrue, for it deals primarily and in detail with a peculiarly Southern problem. The proposals made are at best impractical and at worst un-American; tolerance cannot be dictated to the people of the United States. The main proposals made by the committee, I contend in all honesty, are unconstitutional, dictatorial, revolutionary, and unnecessary.

What is the substance of this bitter attack on the South and its institutions? What is the program and who are its sponsors? When the program is fully understood, the reasons for my stand will be clarified.

The President's Committee on Civil Rights was created by Executive Order 9808 on December 5, 1946. President Truman himself named the 15 members: Sadie T. Alexander, James B. Carey, John S. Dickey, Morris L. Ernst, Roland B. Gittelsohn, Frank P. Graham, Francis J. Haas, Charles D. Luckman, Francis P. Mathews, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Henry Knox Sherrill, Boris Shiskin, Dorothy Tilly, Channing Tobias, and Charles E. Wilson, Chairman. The pretty-sounding theory behind the selection was the choosing of members representing all groups in American life, yet we find to our immediate dismay that not one fair-minded, representative Southerner was appointed to the committee! The South, in other words, was permitted no word in its own defense as the committee worked out a plan to wreck Southern society. Nor was any constitutional lawyer named to serve with the group.

In his Executive Order, President Truman spoke fearfully of the dangers to our "civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution" arising from "the action of individuals who take the law into their own hands and inflict summary punishment and wreak personal vengeance" . . . . persons "subversive of our democratic system of law enforcement and public criminal justice" who "gravely threaten our form of government." The committee was required to report to the President, in writing, making recommendations "with respect to adoption or establishment, by legislation or otherwise, of more adequate and effective means and procedures for the promotion of civil rights of the people of the United States." Not a word as to constitutional limitations! Not a sign that such recommendations stay within the delegated powers of the federal government!

The committee itself confesses that it purposely slanted the report, presenting the black side of the picture only!

> We were not asked to evaluate the extent to which civil rights have been achieved in our country. We did not, therefore, devote ourselves to the construction of a balance sheet which would properly assess the great progress which the Nation has made, as well as the shortcomings in the record. Instead, we have almost exclusively focussed our attention on the bad side of our record—on what may be called the civil-rights frontier.

It may amaze naïve American citizens to discover that a "committee of civil rights"

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FORUM: Shou Truman Civil

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We Oppose the ghts Program?

NO!

By CAROL L. THOMPSON

"....THAT all men are created equal." To humble millions the world over, America is a land of unlimited opportunity, where any man may make a million dollars and where any woman's son may become President of the United States. For children of white Protestants of Anglo-Saxon descent in this country, America may be just that. But for other children, born into Negro homes, Mexican homes, Oriental homes, Jewish, or Catholic homes, America is not quite the same. They, and their children, and their children's children, are the scarcely noticed "exception"—"all men are created equal. . . ." "except" these. Some of these, too, may win high public office, amass great wealth, rise to high social position, but always laboring under an additional handicap. Others, such as the Negro, may never be able to leave the ghettos of their race.

Unless—and here is new hope for thousands of minority Americans—unless the federal government means to help them on the road to civil equality, to protect them in their civil rights. As the President's Committee on Civil Rights has pointed out so ably:

"The central theme in our American heritage is the importance of the individual person. From the earliest moment of our history we have believed that every human being has an essential dignity and integrity which must be respected and safeguarded."

Because he believed in the dignity of every human being and because he was well aware of the differences between democratic dogma and practice in the United States, President Truman formed a committee on civil rights to make a study of conditions of intolerance in America. The commission, after an able study, made a report including recommendations for federal action. It is these recommendations which are now under attack by intolerant and reactionary forces in our society; it is these forces which seek to veto the Truman civil rights program.

President Truman's specific recommendations were contained in a 3,500 word message sent to Congress on February 2, 1948. In this message, he asked for the enactment of an omnibus civil rights program, including a federal anti-poll tax and a federal anti-lynching law. He called for federal guarantees of racial equality in employment (through a revived F.E.P.C.), travel facilities, voting, and police protection. Naturally enough, Southern comment was immediate and bitter. "If legislation of this character is passed," according to Senator Ellender, of Louisiana, "the South will bolt the Democratic party." "The recommendations would destroy the last vestige of the South's social institutions and mongrelize her people," declared Senator Eastland, of Mississippi. The President, remarked Representative Hobbs, of Alabama, wants to "keep the South a conquered province."

President Truman undoubtedly realized that his steps in the direction of real democracy would cost him votes in the deep South. A near-Southerner himself, he is well aware of the depth of anti-Negro feeling among his own people. Not even Franklin Roosevelt was willing to raise the Negro issue during his terms of office for fear of losing the Southern vote. Why President Truman did so remains something of a political mystery and reveals the confidence of the Democratic party that the Solid South cannot bolt. But regardless of his motivation, President Truman has accomplished a real good in starting the ball rolling toward enforcement of the Constitution and guardianship of civil rights.

The Truman program is vitally necessary for this country today to strengthen our position both internally and externally. On the do-

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would admit such a bias and in its zeal to protect minority rights would ignore the plain, easy-to-find rights of the majority Americans in the Southern States. In spite of its admitted bias and in spite of its attempt to force "class legislation" upon the country, the committee's functions were financed by funds from the President's so-called "emergency fund," funds out of the national treasury from taxes paid by these same Southerners. In 1947, the committee received $60,000; in 1948, $50,000. The detailed disposition of the total $110,000 would make interesting reading, I feel sure.

The gist of the report itself came as no surprise to intelligent Southerners but the extreme recommendations made by the committee shocked them and horrified many other thinking Americans. As Representative Cox, of Georgia, phrased it:

> If language has not been twisted and tortured out of all ordinary and common meaning, the report of the President's committee . . . . proposes to array States against States, States against the Federal Government, the Federal Government against the States, State officials against Federal officials, and Federal officials against State officials,—for the inevitable fostering and development of strife which can bring no good to any of the governments or of the peoples thereof. The adoption of the suggested reforms may well result in the complete destruction and downfall of our republican form of government, which is guaranteed by the Constitution to the several states of the Union.

It is impossible to go into the report itself in full detail here. It is divided into five parts, as follows: "Assignment from the President; I. The American heritage: The promise of freedom and equality; II. The record: Short of the goal; III. The Government's responsibility: Securing the rights; IV. A program of action: The committee's recommendations." One would suppose that the committee would begin with a summary of the civil rights of American citizens and their constitutional background. Not so! On the contrary, the committee confessed that it had:

"considered and rejected a proposal to recommend a supplementary statute in which an attempt would be made to include a specific enumeration of all Federal rights. . . . Such an enumeration would inevitably prove incomplete with the passage of time and might prejudice the protection of omitted rights." In other words, the committee suggests legislation so broad and vague that it will protect all civil rights, real and imaginary, present and future. The legal basis of these rights, the committee is so innocent as to suggest, is not only the Constitution, but the Declaration of Independence and, *mirabile dictu!* the four freedoms and the United Nations Charter.

A partial listing of the "civil rights" outlined by the report reveals the extent to which the committee ignored the Constitution and our federal system: the right to employment, the right to education, the right to housing, the right to health services, the right to public services and accommodations. When such radical proposals are made, they should not hide under a cover of "civil rights" nor be financed with taxpayers' money.

RIGHT TO EDUCATION

Under the right to education, for example, the committee proposes to dictate to private colleges, vocational schools, and graduate schools, forcing the admission of all minorities and races. Under the right to housing, further, the committee attacks restrictive covenants, but makes no mention of the multitude of court decisions holding such covenants lawful incidents to property ownership. The government, according to the committee, owes every American a home, but the committee does not mention the fact that to June 30, 1946, the government's expenditures and incurred contingent liabilities in the housing field had amounted to about fifteen billion dollars.

Finally, on page 104 of the report, the committee makes a bow to our tradition of constitutionalism, conceding that:

"the Federal government does not possess broad, clearly defined delegated powers to protect civil rights which it may exercise at its discretion . . . . " that "a detailed examination of the constitutional aspects of the civil rights problem makes clear that very real difficulties lie in the way of Federal action in certain areas. . . . "

The manifestly unconstitutional recommendations then made by the committee include:

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an act abolishing the poll tax requirements of several states; a so-called "anti-lynching" act; an act re-establishing the Fair Employment Practices Commission to dictate to private employers their hiring and firing practices.

Federal legislation calling for the repeal of state poll-tax laws is obviously unconstitutional. The several states, and only the states, have the right to determine qualifications for suffrage. (See section 2, Article I of the federal Constitution). The problem, then, is not at all a question of the ethics of poll tax legislation. We are exclusively concerned with the unconstitutionality of the anti-poll tax proposals. As a matter of fact, poll tax laws have been repealed in most states; only seven states make payment of the poll tax a condition for voting and the tendency for their repeal is growing. Federal interference has, however, resulted in an understandable obstinacy on the parts of the affected states, thus blocking the desired goal.

Within the seven states, furthermore, poll taxes are not the iniquity they are advertised. In South Carolina, for example, the one dollar, non-retroactive tax is in fact levied only on 30 per cent of the population. Women are not required to pay it, nor those over 60 years of age, nor those taking oath that they cannot pay. Poll tax revenue is used for public education for all the children of the state. Nonetheless, South Carolina is well on the way to repeal of poll tax laws, without federal interference.

Those interested in the racial problem of the South will understand also that the poll tax is not in itself the prime barrier to Southern Negro suffrage. Northern radicals seem to believe that abolition of the poll tax will lead ipso facto to universal Negro suffrage. Students of Negro-white relationships can see immediately that if, as, and whenever it seems desirable to Southern whites to exclude Negroes from the polls they will find a way to do so, poll tax or no poll tax. Nor will federal troops bring "democracy" to the South, any more than they did in the days of Reconstruction.

Anti-lynching proposals are another example of unnecessary legislation. Every law-abiding citizen, North and South, is opposed to lynching and the South has by its own efforts practically stamped out this horrid crime. In 1892 in the United States there were 255 lynchings, 100 white and 155 Negro. Twenty-nine years later, in 1921, the number of lynchings had dropped to 64 and in 1947, to one case. In this same year there were more than 13,000 murders, 12,000 rapes and more than 1,500,000 serious crimes. This is not to condone lynching—far from it! It would seem, however, that the states have so far been able to prevent lynchings more successfully than other crimes, for which no federal statute has been proposed.

Anti-lynching legislation is therefore unnecessary. It is also unconstitutional and in the last analysis will do more harm than good. According to the suggestions of the committee, the local law-enforcement officer is to be held personally responsible if a mob succeeds in wresting a victim from him. Now, at the present time many, if not most, local officials try to protect potential victims of mob violence, keeping them in protective custody whenever possible. If, however, well-meaning officers run the risk of personal responsibility, many, if not most of them will avoid involvement in any potential lynching case. More, rather than less lynchings will result. In truth and in fact, the anti-lynching bill, like the rest of the committee proposals, is political propaganda, intended to entice Northern Negroes to the Democratic party and not to protect Southern Negroes from lynching. That job is already being done, and done well, by the states.

By what absurd process of reasoning does the committee arrive at the conclusion that federal officials will be better able to cope with mob violence than local officials, that the distant government in Washington will prove a more efficient law enforcer than the states familiar with the problem?

No proposal made by the committee shows more clearly its totalitarian concepts than its sponsorship of the F.E.P.C. bill. Under the broad powers granted the F.E.P.C. in the bill, failure to comply with its regulations would be punishable by fine or imprisonment or both, without jury trial. The American businessman would be unable to select for hire whomever he chose, but would undoubtedly have to hire members of all minority groups whether or not

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they were qualified for employment in his opinion. The American housewife would be unable to advertise for either white or Negro help, according to her personal preference. Special privileges actually would be accorded minority groups and rights taken away from the majority. Suppose, for example, an employer of 40 men had to lay off 8 employees and suppose, further, that of the 40 men, 10 were members of a minority group. No employer, under the F.E.P.C., would include 1 of the 10 who could claim discrimination. Every employer would lay off 8 members of a majority group, rather than tangle with the red tape and bureaucracy of the federal government. Is that justice? As the honorable Lister Hill, of Alabama, points out:

> At a time when maximum production is so needed to fight inflation and keep our economy strong, the bill would create fear and suspicion, friction and division in the business houses, plants, and factories of America.
>
> It would weaken and imperil our national security at an hour of danger—a time when the peace of the world depends on America's strength.

Like the other recommendations of the civil rights committee, the establishment of the F.E.P.C. would represent an unconstitutional and arbitrary extension of federal power into the realm reserved to the states. The civil rights committee, it is abundantly clear, is more interested in propagandizing for certain minority groups than in protecting the basic rights of all American citizens. These fundamental rights, as defined in the constitution, are the rights to life, liberty, and property. Nowhere in the legal basis of our society can we find any right to complete social equality, or to socialized medicine or to federally controlled schools. To veil a plea for these under guise of "civil rights" is unfair to the American people. Unfairer still is the thinly disguised, all-out attack on the South—on Southern society and on Southern institutions.

Plainly enough, those who sponsor the report in the Democratic party believe that the South is a helpless minority, that there is a "Solid South" which must vote Democratic, regardless of that party's treatment of racial issues. Historically, the South has long been a minority in the nation. Long before the Civil War, the industrial North combined with the expanding West to form a coalition against the agrarian South. The single-crop economy of the South was subjected to bitter hardship by Northern-sponsored tariffs and federal banking practices. Expansion of cotton growing was prohibited by the prohibition on bringing slaves into much new territory of the Union. Slowly but surely, the South became a minority unable to defend itself in the federal government against majority interests. At the same time, these self-same interests began a steady encroachment on the states' rights as defined in the Constitution. The last protection of a minority sectional interest, state sovereignty, was liquidated by force of arms in the War Between the States.

Reconstruction legislation under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner completed the ruin of Southern economy. Carpetbaggers, scalawags, and military governors occupied the defeated states and squeezed out every possibility of a renaissance in Southern culture. Very slowly and very painfully, in the face of economic discrimination of every kind, the South has rebuilt its society. Its poverty has affected white and Negro alike, and many appalling conditions in the South are due not to white discrimination against the Negro but to Northern discrimination against the South. The report of the President's committee advocates measures which compare unfavorably with the most stringent measures adopted after the War Between the States. Their adoption would mean the military occupation of the South, the disintegration of its society, and the impoverishment once again of Southern whites and Southern Negroes.

Today, however, the Southern wing of the Democratic party need not succumb to pressure from organized Northern minorities. By withholding its electoral vote from the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, the South can register its dislike of party policies. Thus the political effectiveness of the so-called "civil rights program" may well backfire. Even in this respect, then the program is a failure.

In summary, it may be said that most of the proposals would establish unconstitutional uses of federal authority; that in practice they would result in totalitarian government and

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very possibly in forceful opposition. Most of the proposals made by the committee, furthermore, are unnecessary, the South being far better qualified to work out a solution to the problem than the federal government. Last but not least, the program is unworkable; deep-seated prejudices and inter-racial tensions cannot be erased by legislative fiat. Tolerance cannot be legislated. For all these reasons, the citizens of America, minority as well as majority groups, must oppose the Truman civil rights program.

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mestic front, unless the Negroes of America see a real improvement in the protection of their civil rights soon, it is questionable how eager they will be to take up arms again in defense of a country that segregates them. This particularly in view of the equal treatment Negroes are accorded in the U.S.S.R. Discontented minorities are always a fertile field for Communist propaganda and the United States is made up of many minority groups. Because this is a time when the United States must present a unified front to the rest of the world and must unite for its own defense, better protection of minority rights is essential.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Civil rights legislation is no less important in the foreign field. Like it or not, we are at present holding ourselves up as a model of democracy for the rest of the world. Basic to our opposition to Russian expansion is the assumption that the U.S.S.R. is "undemocratic"; basic to our intervention in foreign affairs is the assumption that we are on the contrary a "democracy" par excellence. All of our Jim Crow laws, all of our "restrictive" practices, all of our petty and not so petty intolerances are now held up for the world to see, as we try to mold and to lead world opinion. From both a national and an international viewpoint, then, the passage of the Truman program is imperative.

The Truman committee has listed four "basic rights," each of which they hold "essential to the well-being of the individual and to the progress of society": the right to safety and security of the person; the right to citizenship and its privileges; the right to freedom of conscience and expression; the right to equality of opportunity. Although my opponent refuses to recognize it, not all the basic tenets of democracy have been written down in black and white in the Constitution of the United States. The Truman committee nowhere pretends that all the rights it outlines are guaranteed by the Constitution; nonetheless, they are a part of our democratic American heritage.

"Freedom can exist," the committee points out, "only where the citizen is assured that his person is secure against bondage, lawless violence and arbitrary arrest and punishment. . . . . Where the threat of violence by private persons or mobs exists, a cruel inhibition of the sense of freedom of activity and security of the person inevitably results. Where a society permits private and arbitrary violence to be done to its members, its own integrity is inevitably corrupted."

The truth of these statements is obvious to all democratic Americans. When German Jews were massacred by mobs under Nazi rule, enlightened public opinion in this country was horrified. When American pilots shot down over Germany were lynched by German mobs, public opinion here reached fever pitch. Yet American Negroes are never completely secure from the threat of mob violence.

No year since 1882 in the United States has been free of the crime of lynching; in 1946 at least 6 persons were lynched by unidentified mobs. All were Negroes. Although between 1936 and 1946, 43 lynchings occurred, most guilty persons went unpunished and no-one tried for lynching received the death penalty. In most communities where lynching occurs, punishment of lynchers is not considered the responsibility of local or state government and lynching is on the whole condoned. For this reason, the committee recommended the passage of a federal anti-lynching law and President Truman advocated it to the Congress. Police brutality to minority peoples and maladministration of justice were also found disturbingly prevalent by the committee.

The second basic right, the right to citizenship and its privileges, is most often abridged by the exclusion of qualified citizens from the

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polls, through the poll tax and other contrivances. The device of the white primary having been outlawed by the Supreme Court, some Southern states have established new "qualification standards" for voting, which in effect disfranchise the Negro. "Literacy" standards have been applied to the same end. The infamous poll tax has curtailed the size of the entire white and Negro population of the South. In states where the tax is cumulative it is next to impossible for most Negroes and many poorer whites to vote. Seven states—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia—still require payment of this most undemocratic tax. If, as my opponent maintains, the tax is hardly a barrier to Negro voting, it should be abolished. The anti-poll tax features of the Truman program are necessary to assure to every American citizen the right to vote, and the right to vote is assuredly a basic privilege of every citizen. Limitations established by the poll tax were brought out in the House of Representatives in July, 1947:

"In the Presidential elections of 1944, 10 per cent of the potential voters voted in the seven poll tax states, as against 49 per cent in the free vote states. In the Congressional elections of 1946, the figures are five per cent for the poll tax states as compared with 33 per cent for the free-voting states."

Another basic right of every citizen is the right to bear arms in defense of his country, according to the President's committee, and, according to the committee, this right is seriously challenged by discriminatory rulings in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. Negroes serving in the Army seldom saw combat in World War II; Negroes in the Navy usually remained mess boys. Other minority groups suffered as well, anti-Semitism being no stranger, particularly to the Navy. The policy of segregation common to all branches of the service is an out and out abridgement of the Negro's right to receive equal treatment while offering his life for his country.

The right to freedom of conscience and expression the committee rightly held the most widely guaranteed right of all. Except in rare instances, such as persecution of Jehovah's Witnesses, the right to practice a religion of his choice is not denied any American. Except perhaps in the field of radio, freedom of expression is a notable achievement of American democracy.

The right to equality of opportunity as formulated by the committee resulted in President Truman's sponsorship of a new Fair Employment Practices Commission, to guarantee equality of opportunity at least in job getting to all Americans, regardless of religion, color, or nationality. Here, perhaps, is the most serious cleavage between North and South. Southern whites have for generations enforced Negro segregation and, under pressure from the North, have formulated a "separate but equal" policy. Supposedly equal facilities, in other words, must be provided for Negroes in instances where federal law applies, but these facilities remain separate from white facilities. This is true of many public as well as private services, such as transportation facilities and even more important, public schools.

By law, 20 states compel some kind of segregation; 10 states have no laws on the subject and only 18 states forbid discrimination in places of public accommodation. In the 20 states with discriminatory laws, Negroes are usually separated from whites in hotels, restaurants, all places of public amusement and in all forms of public transportation. Fourteen states require railroads to separate the races; eight require separate waiting rooms; eleven call for separation in buses; ten in streetcars; three in steamships and ferries. Colored accommodations in such states are almost always markedly inferior to white accommodations.

Segregation in the public schools has a more serious effect on both white and Negro groups. Both suffer the economic burden of a dual school system. Segregation in the public schools is found in 17 southern states and in Washington, D. C. As the Truman committee points out, by almost any test the provisions for Negro education are markedly inferior to those for white education. Because of this, Negro children fail to get the benefit of a good schooling in citizenship; their right to a decent education is ignored. White children suffer also, less tangibly, from segregation. Never knowing the Negro, they cannot understand or appreciate him; kept from free mingling, they grow up as an arrogant master race. For them the real essence of democracy is forever

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clouded. In addition, public funds have to maintain two school systems.

I have outlined here only a few instances of the denial of basic rights to minority groups in the population of the United States. Other instances surround us. Discrimination in job-getting is common in most sections of the United States, taking the form, in the South, of anti-Negro prejudice; in the far West, of anti-Japanese; on the Southern border, anti-Mexican; in many Northern cities, anti-Jewish or anti-Catholic feeling. As my opponent points out, tolerance cannot be legislated. Yet it is important to note that during the lifetime of the F.E.P.C., less discrimination was practiced in this field, and in states such as New York and Massachusetts, where such discrimination is a state offense, prejudice is far less openly displayed.

Discrimination in housing is equally prevalent and its victims also vary from locality to locality. Here again, some states prohibit out and out discrimination as in advertising for "restricted clientele," or "Gentiles only," and in such states it is far easier for minorities to find adequate housing. The recent Supreme Court decision also helps in this respect.

Not even my opponent denies that discrimination exists. He cannot, however, see any reason for federal legislation. As the Truman committee has pointed out, there are five valid reasons for federal interference now. First, many discriminatory acts are committed by private persons or local officials and the states have so far proved to be incapable of dealing with them. Second, national public opinion should be utilized to force backward localities to set their houses in order. Third, Americans are increasingly conscious that the abridgement of basic rights anywhere in the world is their concern; it is ironic that anyone contends that the abridgement of American rights is a purely local matter. Fourth, a large segment of the population looks to the federal government for protection of civil rights—a "demand rooted in the folkways of the people, sound in instinct and reason and impossible to ignore." Last, the federal government is itself responsible for much discrimination—in the armed services, in federal employment, in the national capital. It is time that the federal government took a firm stand on discriminatory practices, to abolish them in fields within its jurisdiction and to set an example to the nation.

Against all the arguments for a strong civil rights program my opponent's words sound suspiciously like special pleading. Protection by the federal government of basic human rights can hardly result in totalitarianism: it is the abridgement of these rights with the conscious or unconscious aid of the federal government that smacks of Hitlerism or communism. To the argument that the proposals made by the committee are unconstitutional, we might point out that the current Southern interpretation of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments is open to some doubt and is clearly against the liberal framers of these amendments. Thaddeus Stevens and his colleagues of the Reconstruction certainly intended by these constitutional measures to guarantee the Negro those rights still denied him. It may certainly be argued that the Truman program at last will put the federal government in line with the clearly expressed purpose of the Civil War amendments. However, let the Supreme Court decide such legal issues; we have not space to argue them here.

"The program," my opponent says in conclusion, "is unworkable." This is a far more serious charge because it may be true. As he points out, "tolerance cannot be legislated." Thought control is as impractical as it is undemocratic. The Truman program will not, of course, bring on the age of the brotherhood of man. Only a lengthy program of education for real democracy will erase the prejudices of generations. Meantime, however, federal legislation, adequately enforced, will guarantee certain minimum rights to minority groups. Southern whites cannot be compelled to accord social equality to Negroes; they can, however, be forced to give Negroes a decent education, unhampered by undemocratic segregation. White Protestants cannot be compelled to associate with Catholics or Jews; they can, however, be made to accord them equal opportunity for employment or housing under penalty of law. Federal legislation is, therefore, seen only as a beginning. For all the minority Americans and their children's children, however, the Truman program is a sign of hope and of progress.

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THE GRAND DESIGN

NO man in recent times has worked more tirelessly for a supra-national organization of Europe than Winston Churchill. In this, as in other efforts, he has assumed the role of a Cassandra. Yet he has persevered, and the governments of Europe, and more miraculously, the government of the United States, have begun to lay the foundations.

Six hundred representatives of 16 European nations met in The Hague for a Congress of Europe on May 7. FORUM presents below excerpts from the address which Mr. Churchill, the architect of the Congress, delivered. He offered them his own confident watchword—perseverance. Perhaps it may yet bear fruit.

* * *

Since I spoke on this subject at Zurich in 1946 and since our British United Europe Movement was launched in January, 1947, events have carried our affairs beyond our expectations.

This cause was obviously either vital or merely academic. If it was academic it would wither by the wayside, but if it was the vital need of Europe and the world in this dark hour, then the spark would start a fire which would glow brighter and stronger in the hearts and minds of men and women in many lands.

This is what has actually happened:

Great governments have banded themselves together with all their executive power. The mighty republic of the United States has espoused the Marshall Plan. Sixteen European states are now associated for economic purposes. Five have entered into close economic and military relationship.

We hope that this nucleus will in due course be joined by the peoples of Scandinavia and of the Iberian Peninsula, as well as by Italy, who should now resume her full place in the comity of nations.

All have worked and tried their best . . . . We must not forget what their difficulties are. Especially Ministers in responsible office, like Mr. Bevin, M. Bidault, M. Spaak and General Marshall and others, have a right to feel content with the progress made and proud of what they have done.

This is not, as you have said, Mr. Chairman, this is not a movement of parties but a movement of peoples. There is no room for personal or party jealousies. If there is rivalry of parties, let it be to see which one will distinguish itself the most for the common cause.

No one can suppose that Europe can be united on any party or sectional basis, any more than that any one nation could assert an overweening predominance. It must be all for all. Europe can only be united by the heartfelt wish and vehement expression of the great majority of all the peoples and all the parties in all the freedom-loving countries no matter where they dwell or how they vote.

Oh, we need not waste our time this afternoon in disputes about who originated the idea of United Europe. There are many valid modern patents. There are many famous names associated with the revival and presentation of this idea. But we may all, I think, yield our pretensions to King Henry of Navarre, Henry IV of France, who with his great Minister, M. Sully, between the years of 1600 and 1607 labored to set up a permanent committee representing the fifteen—now we are sixteen—leading Christian states of Europe.

This body was to act as an arbitrator on all questions concerning religious conflict, national frontiers, internal disturbance, and common action against any danger from the east —which in those days meant the Turks. This he called the Grand Design.

After this long passage of time we are the servants of the Grand Design.

It is time, indeed, that that voice should be raised upon the scene of chaos and prostration caused by the wrongs and hatreds of the past and amid the dangers which lie about us in the present and cloud the future. We shall only save ourselves from the perils which draw near by forgetting the hatreds of the past, by letting national rancors and revenges die, by progressively effacing frontiers and barriers which aggravate and congeal our divisions.

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And by rejoicing together in that glorious treasure of literature, of romance, of ethics, of thought, and toleration belonging to all, which is the true inheritance of Europe, which is the expression of its genius and honor and which by our quarrels and our follies, by our fearful wars and the cruel and awful deeds that spring from war and tyrants, we have almost cast away.

It is indeed fitting, ladies and gentlemen, that this first Congress of Europe should meet in Holland, which with her neighbors of the Benelux group is already leading the way by her example, and for whose hospitality and countenance we express our gratitude. Indeed Benelux is at once a model and a pioneer for our immediate advance.

The movement for European unity, as our draft report declares, must be a positive force, deriving its strength from our common sense of spiritual values. It is a dynamic expression of democratic faith based upon moral conceptions and inspired by a sense of mission. In the center of our movement stands a charter of human rights, guarded by freedom and sustained by law. It is impossible to separate economics and defense from general political structure. Mutual aid in the economic field and joint military defense must inevitably be accompanied step by step with a parallel policy of closer unity.

It is said with truth that this involves some sacrifice, or merger, of national sovereignty. But it is also possible and not less agreeable to regard it as the gradual assumption by all the nations concerned of that larger sovereignty which can alone protect their diverse and distinctive customs and characteristics and their national traditions, all of which under totalitarian systems, whether Nazi, Fascist or Communist, would certainly be blotted out forever.

Some time ago I stated that it was the proud mission of the victor nations to take the Germans by the hand and lead them back into the European family. And I rejoice that some of the most eminent and powerful Frenchmen have spoken in this sense.

To rebuild Europe from its ruins, to make its light shine forth again upon the world we must first of all conquer ourselves. It is in this way only that the sublime with its marvelous transmutation of material things can be brought into our daily life.

Europe requires all that Frenchmen, all that Germans and all that everyone of us can give. I therefore welcome here the German delegation whom we have invited into our midst.

For us the German problem is to restore the economic life of Germany and revive the ancient fame of the German race without thereby exposing their neighbors and ourselves to any rebuilding or reassertion of that military power of which we still bear the scars.

United Europe provides the only solution which covers both these fields and it is a solution which can be adopted practically and without delay. It is necessary, ladies and gentlemen, for the executive governments of the 16 countries associated for the purpose of the Marshall Plan, to make precise arrangements which can apply at present only to what is called Western Europe. In this we wish them well and will give them all loyal support.

But our aim here is not confined to Western Europe. We seek nothing less than all Europe. Distinguished exiles from Czechoslovakia and almost all the Eastern European nations and also from Spain are present among us. We aim at the eventual participation of all the peoples throughout the Continent whose society and way of life, making all allowances for the differences of points of view in various countries, are not in disaccord with the charter of human rights and with the sincere expression of free democracy.

We welcome any country where the people own the government and not the government the people.

Indeed it is not the fault of those who are gathered here today nor of the governments involved in the Marshall Plan or in the Western Union, and least of all it is the fault of the United States that the unity of Europe cannot be at present complete.

All the states of the east and the southeast of Europe, except Greece, are constrained to hold aloof from us and most of them are not allowed to express themselves by free, democratic electoral processes. We cannot aim at anything less than the union of Europe as a whole and we look forward with confidence to

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the day when that union will be achieved.

Ladies and gentlemen, I was anxious at first lest the United States of America should view with hostility the idea of a United States of Europe. But I rejoice that the great republic, in its era of world leadership, has risen far above such moods. We must all be thankful as we sit here that the nation called to the summit of the world by its mass, its energies, and its power, has not been found lacking in those qualities of greatness and nobility upon which the record of famous states depends.

Far from resenting the creation of United Europe, the American people welcomed and ardently sustained the resurrection of what was called the Old World now found in full partnership with the New.

Nothing, ladies and gentlemen, that we do or plan here conflicts with the paramount authority of a world organization of the United Nations. On the contrary, I have always believed, as I declared in the war, that a council of Europe was a subordinate, but necessary, part of the world organization. I thought at that time, when I had great responsibility, that there should be several regional councils, august but subordinate, that these should form the massive pillars upon which the world organization would be founded in majesty and calm. This was the direction in which my hopes and thoughts lay three or four years ago.

To take an example from the military sphere, with which our hard experiences have made us all familiar, the design for world government might have followed the system of three or more groups of armies—in this case armies of peace—under one supreme headquarters. Thus I saw the vast Soviet Union forming one of these great groups. The council of Europe, including Great Britain, joined with her Empire and Commonwealth, would be another. Thirdly, the Western Hemisphere, with all its great spheres of interest and influence, had already become effective. And with this, we, in Britain and in the Commonwealth, were also linked by Canada and other sacred ties.

In the mind picture which it was possible to form as victory in the war became certain, there was the hope that each of these three splendid groupings of states and nations whose affairs, of course, would sometimes overlap, might have settled within themselves a great number of differences and difficulties which are now dragged up to the supreme world organization and that far fewer, but also far more potent, figures would represent them at the summit.

There was also the hope that they would meet, not in an overcrowded tower of Babel but, as it were, upon a mountain top where all was cool, and quiet and calm, and from which a wide vision of the world would be presented with all things in their due proportion.

As the poet, Blake, wrote:

> "Above time's troubled fountains,
> On the great Atlantic mountains
> In my golden house on high."

To some extent events have moved in this direction, but not in the spirit or the shape which was needed. The Western Hemisphere already presents itself as a unit.

Here at The Hague we are now met to help our various governments to create the new Europe. But we are all grieved and perplexed, and imperiled by the discordant attitude and policy of the third great and equal partner, without whose active aid the world organization cannot function nor the shadow of war be lifted from the hearts and minds of men and nations.

We must do our best to create and combine the great regional unities which it is in our power to influence. And we must endeavor by patient and faithful service to prepare for the day when there will be an effective world government resting upon the main groupings of mankind.

Thus, for us and for all who share our civilization and our desire for peace and world government there is only one duty and one watchword—persevere. That is the command which should rule us at this congress. Persevere along all the main lines that have been made clear and imprinted upon us by the bitter experiences through which we have passed. Persevere toward those objectives which are lighted for us by all the wisdom and the inspiration of the past.

I have the feeling, ladies and gentlemen, that after the second Thirty Years War, for that is what it is through which we have passed, just passed, mankind needs and seeks a period

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of rest. After all, how little is this that the millions of homes in Europe represented here today are asking! Tell us, what is it that all these wage earners, skilled artisans, soldiers, tillers of the soil; what is it they require, what is it they deserve, and what is it they may be led to demand?

Is it not a fair chance to make a home, to reap the fruits of their toil, to cherish their wives, to bring up their children in a decent manner, and to dwell in peace and safety, without fear, or bullying, or monstrous burdens, or exploitation, however these may be imposed upon them. That is their hearts' desire. And that is what we mean to try to win for them.

President Roosevelt spoke of the four freedoms. But the one that matters most today is freedom from fear. Why should all these hard working families be harassed, first, as in bygone times, by dynastic and religious quarrels, next by nationalistic ambitions, and finally by ideological fanaticism? Why should they now have to be regimented and hurled against each other by variously labeled forms of totalitarian tyranny, all fomented by wicked men building their own predominance upon the misery and the subjugation of their fellow human beings?

Why should so many millions of humble homes in Europe, aye, and much of its enlightenment and culture, sit quaking in dread of the policemen's knock? That is the question we have to answer here. That is the question which perhaps we have the power to answer here. After all, Europe has only to arise and stand in her own majesty, faithfulness and virtue to confront all forms of tyranny, ancient or modern, Nazi or Communist, with forces which are unconquerable and which, if asserted in good time, may never be challenged again.

I take a proud view of this congress. We cannot rest upon benevolent platitudes and generalities. Our powers may be limited but we know and we must affirm what we mean and what we want.

On the other hand, it would not be wise in this critical time to be drawn into labored attempts to draw rigid structures and constitutions. That is a later stage and it is one in which the leadership must be taken by the ruling governments in response, no doubt, to our impulse and in many cases to their own conceptions. But we are here to lay the foundations upon which the statesmen of the western democracies may stand and create an atmosphere favorable to the decisions to which they may be led. It is not for us who do not wield the authority of government to confront each other or the world with sharply cut formulas or detailed arrangements.

There are many different points of view which have to find their focus. We in Britain must move in harmony with our great partners in the Commonwealth who, I do not doubt, though separated by the ocean's spaces, share our aspirations and follow with deep attention our trend of thought.

But undue precipitancy, like too much refinement, would hinder and not help the immediate missions we have to fulfill. Nevertheless, we must not separate without a positive step forward.

The task before us at this congress is not only to raise the voice of Europe as a united whole during these few days we are together. We must here and now resolve that in one form or another an European assembly should be constituted which will enable that voice to make itself continuously heard and, we trust, with ever-growing acceptance by all the free countries of this continent.

A high and a solemn responsibility rests upon us here this afternoon in this congress of a Europe striving to be reborn, if we allow ourselves to be rent and disordered by pettiness and small disputes, if we fail in charity of view, of courage in action, a priceless occasion may be cast away forever.

But if we all pull together and pool our luck and our comradeship—and we shall need all the comradeship and not a little luck—if we move together in this way and firmly grasp the larger hopes of humanity, then it may be that we shall move into a happier, sunlit day, when all the little children who are now growing up in this tormented world may find themselves not the victors or the vanquished in the fleeting triumphs of one country over another in the bloody turmoil of destructive war, but the heirs of all the treasures of the past and the masters of all the science, the abundance, and the glories of the future.

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CONGRESS DEBATES:

The Oleo Taxes

THE Sacred Cow of Washington turned out to be a dairy cow after all. Despite numerous tributes to the cow and to the dairy farmer by representatives of the butter producing states, the House passed the Rivers bill, repealing the taxes on oleomargarine, on April 28 by a vote of 260-106.[1]

This debate is a notable example of the pressures brought by conflicting sectional interests of our economy upon Congress.

On the side of the cow were ranged the representatives of Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Missouri. They were given moral support by the Cudahy Packing Company, exclusive owners of the "Peters' process"—a bag for coloring oleomargarine that eliminates waste and time-consuming mixing. The arguments of the "farmer's friends" ranged from pious desires to shield the American home from fraud to frank pleas for protection of the dairy industry. Mr. Bennett, of Missouri, admitted he knew the bread of his district was spread with butter.

Mr. Knutson, of Minnesota, threatened Mr. Rivers, of South Carolina, the sponsor of the bill, with retaliation in the cotton industry.

On the side of the housewife were the representatives of South Carolina, Texas, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Maryland, Arkansas, and Mississippi. This last, a fortuitous amalgam of cotton, soy, and peanut oil producers, the oleomargarine manufacturers, and the urban consumer won the day. The 60-year-old federal taxes on oleomargarine may soon be lifted.

* * *

Mr. RIVERS, Democrat, South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2245) to repeal the tax on oleomargarine . . . .

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from South Carolina.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 2245, with Mr. AREND in the chair.

Mr. POTTS, Republican, New York. Mr. Chairman, the matter before us is whether we shall eliminate the highly repressive taxes on colored margarine and give to the consumers of America the rights to which they are entitled from a free, competitive market.

Now what are those taxes?

First. Six hundred dollars a year on manufacturers of margarine.

Second. Four hundred and eighty dollars a year on wholesalers of colored margarine.

Third. Forty-eight dollars a year on retailers of colored margarine.

Fourth. Ten cents a pound on the purchaser of colored margarine.

Oh, yes; the housewife can have uncolored margarine without most of these taxes, and then she can color it herself with all the difficulty and labor coloring it entails, as housewives who use margarine will very graphically attest to. And she will color it, too; of that there is no doubt, because it then takes on a palatable appearance, and she will buy it, especially in these times of one dollar butter, and of that there is no doubt either. So that the net result is a tax placed on the product, the sole purpose of which is, and from its incep-

[1] *Congressional Record, House*, Vol. 94, No. 74, pp. 4961-4967, 4971-4972, 4974, 4976-4977, 4980-4981, 4983-4987, 4989-4992.

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tion has been, to attempt to discourage housewives from purchasing it.

Nobody denies that the remission of these taxes will boost the sales of margarine, although I believe to a lesser degree than the opponents of the pending legislation would have us believe, and that since it is a substitute for butter, there will be a consequent falling off in the sale of the latter. It is quite understandable therefore that the dairy interests should become apprehensive and that they should redouble their efforts to save a subsidy they have enjoyed for many decades, paid for by the housewives of America.

Mr. MURRAY, Republican, Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a correction?

Mr. POTTS. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. MURRAY. Does the gentleman know that the oil in every ounce of every pound of oleo made in the United States is subsidized at between one and ten cents a pound?

Mr. POTTS. I am only concerned about the subsidy as it affects the manufacture of butter, that you have a free, competitive market except that this is a limitation on that free, competitive market in America. There is no more reason for that than for putting a tax on salad spreads, because they are a competitor of mayonnaise.

It is safe to say, this legislation would not have come to the floor of this House by petition to discharge if margarine taxes were the prerogative of the revenue-raising committee of the House, namely, the Ways and Means Committee. That the taxes on margarine are not truly for revenue-raising purposes is evident from the fact that the Ways and Means Committee does not have jurisdiction over them but rather the Committee on Agriculture. So long as the latter committee has jurisdiction over margarine taxes it can be reasonably expected that margarine taxes will be forever imposed not for tax-raising purposes, because it is not a tax-raising committee, but to give to the dairy interests of the country an unfair advantage having no place in a free-enterprise America. . . .

It is sometimes contended that butter is entitled to use the color yellow to the exclusion of margarine. That is sheer nonsense and the proof of that is that the housewife may color it herself and the wholesaler and retailer may sell it colored and the housewife may buy it colored upon the payment of a tax—not to the dairy interests, as you would suppose it would be if butter had such a pre-emptive right, but rather to the government.

It is said that the tax is imposed to raise revenue to prevent fraud in the marketing of margarine as butter. But that theory is fallacious. There is no more basis for saddling the margarine consumers of America with the operating cost of a government agency charged with the prevention of fraud than there would be in parceling out the cost of such agency in exposing fraud in the sale of hybrid shoes as leather shoes, or in the sale of "blue sky" securities.

* * *

Mr. CLEVENGER, Republican, Ohio. Mr. Chairman, you ask me of the state of the nation, Mr. Hennessey. It is a sad state indeed. The biggest political hoax in many a moon has made strange bedfellows, the likes of which this House has seldom seen.

Oleo can be naturally colored yellow, somebody told them, and with that they fall into each other's arms.

They have buttered their bread, Mr. Hennessey, and now let them lie in it.

And who do we find sharing the same pillow, Mr. Hennessey? The cotton South and the C.I.O.; both hoping to remove the federal taxes on oleomargarine colored yellow in imitation of butter.

Oleo will be cheaper, the C.I.O. murmurs sleepily. But what does the cotton South dream, Mr. Hennessey? The cotton South dreams that yellow oleo will bring better prices for cottonseed oil; though how cottonseed oil can go up if the oleo price goes down no man can tell.

Then there is Harry and Henry Wallace cuddled up in another corner. Harry wants the votes of the workingman, and Hank wants whatever the Communists want, so they both plump for yellow oleo and never mind the farmer, Mr. Hennessey.

The Consumers' League is snuggled close to the 26 big Wall Street corporations that make oleomargarine, and all because the big corporations and Eleanor say it is a shame for

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the ladies to have to take two minutes from My Day to color their own oleo.

Every left-wing cartoonist in the country has crawled under last year's $6 million advertising blanket cast over the scene by four oleo manufacturers. And whom do we find under the blanket, Mr. Hennessey, but the conservative publishers who have closed their columns to the nonadvertising farmers. If it is yellow oleo their city readers want, it is yellow oleo they should have.

Life magazine has hold of a $200,000 corner of that advertising, Mr. Hennessey, and if the same blanket covers the unwashed Daily Worker, who is Mr. Luce to complain?

But, Mr. Hennessey, wait until we hear from the 5 million farm families left out in the cold.

* * *

AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE

Mr. McGARVEY, Republican, Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, as you all know, on Tuesday, March 20, the members of the House Committee on Agriculture, shelved 19 bills which had been introduced to either repeal or drastically reduce the federal taxes on colored oleomargarine. The reasons for the committee's high-handed action in this instance are best known only to themselves. It is significant that the members of the committee all represent agricultural districts. Not one member, representing an industrial or city district, was permitted by vote to voice his approval of the bills. Since the people living in such districts comprise the main body of consumers of oleomargarine, and not the people in the farming districts, it can hardly be said that the proposed legislation received the impartial consideration to which it is entitled in a country which functions under a representative form of government.

I am proud that I am one of the signers of the discharge petition to bring oleomargarine repeal bill to the floor of the House in order that it might be voted on in the American way. This way is directly opposed to the manner in which the oleomargarine repeal bills were roughly pigeonholed with no explanation or reasons given. I represent a large, thickly populated city district where some of the leading industrial plants of the country are located, and where the housewives have written me daily regarding the outrageous measure which the committee members have proposed in lieu of H. R. 2245. Yes; I call it outrageous and Sovietlike tactics, and I will not stand idly by.

Mr. CURTIS, Republican, Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, the farmers are not the only people who will feel the effects if the present federal tax on oleomargarine is removed. The consumers are due for a drubbing they do not expect.

In the first place, why do the oleomargarine manufacturers want to color their so-called superior product yellow? What is unappetizing about white? As a farmer's wife very accurately pointed out, "What is distasteful or unappetizing about the white color of an angel-food cake?"

The questionable genealogy of oleomargarine was concisely covered here recently when a great friend of the American farmer, the gentleman from Minnesota, Congressman AUGUST H. ANDRESEN, said:

> We must remember that oleomargarine is a contrived product of uncertain ancestry. It can be and has been made of fish oil, animal fats, tallow, waste packing-house by-products, and vegetable oils, both domestic and imported. To say that oleo is the nutritional equivalent of butter is to say that horse meat is the nutritional equivalent of prime roast beef. The statement may be technically true, but it is morally dubious.
>
> In any case, the processing of oleo requires the deodorizing of some oils, the removal of unpleasant off-tastes from others, and bleaching to give a uniform base for the addition of color. Diacetyl must be added to imitate butter's taste. Vitamin A, which is extracted from shark livers, must be added to imitate butter's nutrition. Milk must be added to oleo to imitate butter's texture. The use of yellow would be the final step toward fraud and deceit by imitating butter's color.

If the existing federal legislation is repealed, the price of oleomargarine will go up. The consumers will suffer. At the present time, most of the oleomargarine that is sold is uncolored. When and if the law is changed so that this oleomargarine appears entirely like butter, the consumers will pay and pay plenty. It has been shown by the debate on this subject that colored oleomargarine is sold in Indiana for as much as 29 cents per pound more than the

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white oleomargarine. The federal tax is only ten cents a pound. The consumer is required to enrich the handful of manufacturers who control the oleomargarine industry to the tune of 19 cents a pound because their product is colored. If there is to be no white oleomargarine to compete in keeping the price down, colored oleomargarine will tend to follow butter prices even more closely than at present.

Another interesting thing that has been brought out since this controversy has risen is that in one 15-year period 30,000 persons were picked up by the Bureau of Internal Revenue for selling oleomargarine as butter at butter prices. The present federal tax of one-fourth of a cent a pound on white oleomargarine is money well spent by the consumers because it guarantees the policing of the manufacturers and distributors of oleomargarine. A repeal of the existing federal law would be most unfair to both farmers and consumers.

The farmer knows what repeal would do to him. During the days of drouth and crop failure in Nebraska and in surrounding states, the regular cream check was the thing that enabled hundreds of thousands of farmers to keep going. It was these checks that made it possible for the retail merchant and business and professional men in our cities and towns to stay open for business.

AMERICAN HOUSEWIFE

Mr. KEEFE, Republican, Wisconsin. It seems to me that you have not given the American housewife the facts about this situation. You have led her to believe by this expenditure of millions of dollars for propaganda that if you just repeal this federal tax everything is going to be lovely and she will get all the oleomargarine that she needs.

Now, let us see. I looked into a Giant Food Market store this morning. They can sell colored oleomargarine in the District of Columbia by paying the federal tax of ten cents per pound. What was colored oleomargarine selling for on the store shelves here in the District of Columbia this morning? Fifty-five cents a pound. What was uncolored oleomargarine selling for? Forty-one cents a pound. That is a differential of 14 cents, and the total tax is only ten cents. The oleo manufacturers have added 14 cents to the base price of uncolored margarine and have raised it to 55 cents a pound. What assurance has the housewife that the price of oleo will be reduced? None at all. Those were the prices cited in the food stores here in Washington this morning.

I will tell you what will happen. They are using soybean oil and cottonseed oil now, and the appeal is made that that is American agriculture. You take this tax off and you will see them using imported copra oil that they can buy for a fraction of what it costs to manufacture their product out of soybean oil and cottonseed oil. You will see that there will be no reduction in price. The price of oleomargarine will follow the historic price of butter all along the line.

Let me tell you something. You are going to find that the housewife is going to ask some questions on this thing when she understands it. She does not understand the situation today. All she knows is that she has to color her oleomargarine unless she pays ten cents tax in those states that permit colored oleomargarine to be sold at all. She knows that in my state the state law prohibits the sale of colored oleomargarine. She knows that anything that we do here is not going to change the situation there. Why do you not go out and spend your millions of dollars in the 23 states of the union that do not permit the sale of colored oleomargarine, and repeal those laws and give some real benefit to the American housewife, instead of kidding them as you are kidding them with this proposed legislation?

Butter is one of our basic foods and through the ages has been identified by its natural yellow color. It is the identifying trade-mark that rightfully belongs to butter. The claim that oleo has as much right as butter to the color yellow is false. Oleo in this country is produced from the oils of cottonseed and soybeans. The real reason why these oils must be bleached is that when cottonseed oils are turned into fat they become gray; and when soybean oils are turned into fat they become green. To have a uniform color the oleo manufacturers must bleach out the gray and green colors. It is impossible to produce a natural yellow oleomargarine from domestic oils.

Butter is always yellow, although at some seasons of the year it is less yellow than at others. When color is added to butter it is for

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the sake of uniformity, not for the purpose of making it look like some other product.

There have been long recognized ethical standards restricting imitations. For example Brookshire cheese is too close to Swift & Co.'s Brookfield trade-mark to be permitted. An automobile manufacturer was prevented from using a certain shape of radiator because it too closely resembled the Packard design.

Why of all the colors in the spectrum do the oleomargarine people select the yellow color of butter? Why have the manufacturers of oleo made every effort to duplicate the body and texture and melting point of butter? They have added vitamins in an effort to approximate the vitamin content of butter. The flavor of butter may also be added legally to oleomargarine so as to make identification almost impossible. With all this imitation permitted, there remains the feeling that consumers should be protected by a color identification so that it would not be necessary to call on technical laboratory tests to determine whether it is butter or oleo. Some say that if people cannot tell the difference between butter and yellow margarine what harm is done. The point is that people are entitled to know what they are paying for—beef, not horsemeat; butter, not oleo. Labels on cartons are not enough. Most consumers get part or all of their butter—or oleo after it has left the containers—in individual servings or in bulk from grocers. It is an easy matter, also, to switch a pound of yellow something or other into an empty butter carton. Federal food and drug laws cannot protect the public in intrastate shipments and sales.

DISTINCTIVE COLOR FOR OLEO

By means of a costly advertising campaign the oleo people have convinced the average housewife that oleomargarine is as nutritious and healthful as butter. If that is true why do the oleo interests insist upon copying what they contend is an inferior product? Why should they not insist upon a distinctive color of their own? Peanut butter sells under its own characteristic brown color and its own typical flavor. Even though peanut butter uses the term "butter," there is no controversy because there is no consumer deception.

Advocates of this oleo tax repealer have gone so far in this debate as to make the charge that butter and milk products spread undulant fever. I do not know how many housewives they have convinced of this libel. But as a result of this false propaganda the oleo supporters may have built up a large following of people who do not want to eat butter, who may fear that it is a carrier of undulant fever. Why are not these people then entitled to some protection so that they will know that they are being served oleo instead of butter when they eat in a hotel or restaurant? If oleo had its own distinctive color they could be sure they are not eating butter.

To show you what I mean I have arranged a display of oleo colored in various hues any one of which could be selected as oleo's trademark. I have also arranged a display of ice cream in the many fascinating colors in which this tasty product is manufactured. You have no aversion to eating pistachio ice cream although it comes in a bright green color. Why not produce oleo in some similar color? The ten-cent federal tax would not then apply. There would be no necessity for repealing the oleo-tax laws which I have pointed out are really a protection for the consuming public.

Aside from this angle of protection for the consumer there is a still more serious aspect to this matter in the impact the repeal of these laws would have upon our national economy.

During the war we heard much of the slogan "Guns or butter." Our New Deal managers placed the production of war weapons in opposition to the production of butter and inevitably butter became a war casualty. Creamery butter production dropped from better than 1,800,000,000 pounds before the war to a low of 1,168,000,000 pounds in 1946. When the wartime food-rationing program was set up butter was placed at a conspicuous disadvantage in the order of preference given milk and dairy products. At the same time margarine was given a distinct advantage with respect to other fats and oils commodities. The margarine industry was allowed to use fats and oils at a rate which permitted an output higher than in the prewar years. Exported margarine was exempted from quota restrictions. As a result, margarine production in the period 1943-45 averaged 600 million pounds, 250 million pounds above prewar output. The impetus margarine production received dur-

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ing the war is still carrying it forward. It now exceeds the monthly output of butter. In comparison with margarine, butter is relatively expensive to produce. The cost of butter includes a large element of labor, as well as raw materials in the form of fodder and grain. Margarine, a machine product, costs little to produce.

Butter production has not recovered from casualties it sustained during the war period, and it may take some time for it to regain its normal per-capita production even under the most encouraging circumstances. Repeal of the oleo legislation will not make that road easy. In fact, repeal of the federal laws and repeal of the color restrictions might result in the oleo manufacturers reaching their first goal, namely, a billion pounds of oleomargarine. It is quite easy to foreglimpse what would result should oleomargarine consumption reach that gigantic figure while creamery butter is trying to climb back from its low production of a billion three hundred million pounds to the almost 1,900,000,000 pounds which it had reached in prewar days.

Oleo manufacturers claim that their product does not hurt the dairy industry, but the records show that when oleomargarine consumption goes up the consumption of butter declines. This advance of oleo into the butter markets is being made without any appreciable advantage to the American farmer in spite of widespread propaganda to the contrary.

During 1946 the American farmer received $25,322,896,000 in cash income from the products of his farm, of which he could attribute $39,376,000 or less than two-tenths of one per cent to the portion of his farm products utilized in the manufacture of oleomargarine. Of this latter amount $16,759,000 went for cottonseed oil and $18,603,000 went into soybean oil. At the moment the American margarine industry is using domestic cottonseed and soybean oil but there is no assurance that the industry will not again turn to foreign oils which in normal times are much cheaper than domestic oils. Before the war the principal ingredient of margarine was coconut oil imported from the Philippines and other far eastern countries. That supply was shut off by the conflict, but coconut oil is beginning to show up again in the import statistics. During 1948 approximately 20 million pounds of coconut oil was used in the making of margarine for the American market. Significantly this oil was used almost exclusively in the manufacture of factory colored oleo. Copra products are coming back by leaps and bounds in the East Indies and Philippines. What the score will be for 1948 I will not venture a guess, but I think the southern cotton growers and those who dabble in soybeans should take careful note of the trend. Disaster nearly struck the soybean and cottonseed oil industry early in 1947 when the coconut oil began arriving in quantities from the Philippines. Domestic vegetable oils were at a high point but the arrival of the foreign oils sent the entire price structure down to prewar levels. Only vastly increased government buying for export saved the industries involved from crippling losses.

SOUTHERN COTTON INDUSTRY

I have observed that many of my southern colleagues have signed this discharge petition apparently in the belief that expansion of the oleo industry would help the southern cotton industry. The records reveal that dairying and other competing interests are tremendously more important as sources of cash income to southern farmers than oleomargarine. For instance cash income to farmers in the state of Carolina, represented by my good friend, the Honorable Mr. RIVERS, in 1940 amounted to $1,090,000 from oleomargarine and $19,294,000 from sources injured by oleomargarine. In the ten cotton states cash income in that year from oleo was $17,539,000 compared with $478,803,000 from sources injured by oleo. It is unfortunate that some farmers in these states have been led to believe that more oleo would improve their economic status.

While less than two-tenths of one per-cent of farm income is traceable to oleomargarine, dairy products gave him a cash income of $4,116,930,000 in 1946. Normally in the United States 45 to 59 per cent of all milk which is processed is made into butter. If butter production is drastically reduced, it would mean a decrease in total milk production. Milk is a seasonal product with substantial surpluses accumulating during the flush season. It is at this period of surplus milk that the bulk of the butter is made and stored away for con-

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sumption during the lean period. To assure consumers of an adequate supply of fluid milk in the lean season the dairyman must maintain a herd of greater size than he would need at the flush season. If he cannot convert the surplus milk into butter during the flush period he will have only one recourse and that is to cut down the size of his herd. The Department of Agriculture statistics show that he has been compelled to reduce the number of milk cows on his farms steadily since 1945 and today has fewer animals than he had in 1934. If this trend continues the shortages of fluid milk in the dry periods will grow progressively worse. Shortages in fluid milk supply are usually reflected in higher prices to the consumer.

There is another serious aspect to this picture relating to the conservation of our valuable soil, the soil that gives America the highest standard of living in the world. Check the older countries and you will find that countries which place great stress on their dairy herds such as Denmark, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden are the only ones in Europe whose people at present receive an adequate diet. The others, such as Italy, India, China, and many others which have tried to get along without this basic industry are suffering from inadequate diet and are dependent on our generosity to keep them alive. This condition is due in large part to the fallacy of some countries in thinking that they can crop their lands, leave it open to wind and water erosion year after year. This policy has lost for them forever that valuable top soil so necessary to the growth of vegetation. The dairy industry is the only type of farming that goes with a sound soil-conservation program. From that standpoint alone it is to the interests of all America to see that this great industry is not destroyed.

* * *

Mr. MITCHELL, Republican, Indiana. I am not going to yield at this time. I do not intend to yield until I get through.

I have here, as a matter of comparison, which I will insert in the RECORD, a statement from the Department of Agriculture, the Pure Food and Drugs Section, for the years from 1930 to 1947. There were prosecutions pertaining to butter for filth, decomposition, and/or productions under unsanitary conditions amounting to 705.

In those same years, 1930 to 1947, the seizures in oleomargarine for filth or decomposition amounted to just two.

Mr. STEVENSON, Republican, Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, to those who would defraud the American public by serving colored oleomargarine for good, pure, unadulterated butter, I ask the question: "Would you favor the sale and serving of horse meat in public eating places without informing the people what they were getting?" If it is a fraud to sell horse meat to the public without telling the customer what he is getting, it is fraud to serve oleo to the public disguised as pure butter.

Why do the manufacturers of oleo want to color their product? They know the people prefer butter because of its sunshine color, because butter is made from unadulterated cream. Butter tastes good because it takes four pints of cream to make a pound of butter. Butter by nature is our symbol of good living.

There is no foreign oil in butter, no cottonseed oil, no coconut oil, no soybean oil. Butter is made from pure cream churned to a golden nugget. Butter does not have to be artificially impregnated with vitamins; it does not have to be adulterated to look like something it is not. Oleo manufacturers know oleo would not be bought or served on the table by the American housewife if it was put on the market in its original dirty-white color. You have heard the expression "tell-tale gray." That is the real color of margarine. "Oleo" Members of Congress know their baby could not be pawned off on the housewife if they tried to dispose of it in its natural color. Because they want oleo to displace butter as a spread for bread, they want to adulterate it and color it to look like the golden globules of butterfat that gather when pure cream is churned into pure butter. They try to make oleo taste like butter, so they adulterate it with foreign oils to imitate the creamy flavor of pure butter. Butter by nature contains vitamin A, vitamin D, vitamin E, and the other natural food elements that combine to make butter one of nature's masterpieces. Soybean and cottonseed oil and foreign coconut oil from which oleo is made do not contain vitamins nor anything

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else that is tasty or palatable, so the oleo boys have to adulterate their oleo in an attempt to make it taste and look and smell like butter. My premise is: If you want to pawn off an adulterated imitation on the American public, why not let the people know they are getting an adulterated imitation? Why make it possible for these imitators to deceive and defraud the people by selling them an adulterated imitation of golden delicious butter at a price far beyond its value, and thus make it possible for the oleo trust to sacrifice a basic American industry on the altar of unconscionable profits, fraud, and deceit?

More than 65 million meals are served to the public in public eating places in the United States every day. What a wonderful harvest for the oleo trust. What a market for the oleo interests to pawn off their adulterated imitation of butter at butter prices—an imitation that costs but a fraction of the cost of butter. This would afford the oleo trust the opportunity of disposing millions of pounds of oleo to the public, who would think they were getting butter. Billions of dollars of unconscionable profits for the Oleo Trust. No wonder they are spending millions in their oleo campaign. . . .

If oleo does displace butter as a spread it will mean practically the destruction of the dairy industry. Every dairy cow and every dairy herd that is thereby destroyed means less milk, less cream, less butterfat, and less beef, less veal, and less hides and leather for the American public. There is no question but that there will be a scarcity of milk, cream, butter, a scarcity of meats and meat products, and a scarcity of hides and leather with the destruction of the dairy industry. Every dairy cow and every calf that is removed from the dairy picture means an increasing scarcity of dairy products, a scarcity of meats and meat products, and a scarcity of hides and leather products. This will result in higher prices for milk, cream, and butter, higher prices for meats and meat products, and higher prices for shoes and leather products just as surely as night follows the day. As you know, 40 per cent of our meat supply in this country comes from our dairy herds.

Instead of getting oleo for less, the consuming public will pay a higher price for oleomargarine. With a continuous decrease in the number of dairy cows and dairy herds in the country, it is absolutely a foregone conclusion that butter and dairy products will go higher in the cost of oleo or milk or butter, or in the city of dairy products. And so the consumer is bound to meet with disappointment, if he thinks the repeal of the federal tax on uncolored oleo will bring about lower prices, either in the cost of oleo or milk or butter, or in the cost of meats or meat products, or in shoes or leather products. All these products are bound to increase in cost to the consumer. And the oleo trust will fill their pockets with huge profits. Is it any wonder the oleo trust is spending so much money in this fight for oleo against the dairy cow?

Fitzpatrick in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*
"At The Mercy Of The Sacred Cow"

* * *

Mr. GARMATZ, Democrat, Maryland. Mr. Chairman, one of the basic issues involved in this legislation is the propriety and desirability of using the tax laws to affect the relative position of competing industries. In the case of oleomargarine, the taxing power is used as a punitive measure against one industry, to advance the interest of another. In the process, the public is deterred from the free exercise of its consumer preferences. Competing indus-

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tries are deprived of the full benefit of the free-enterprise system, which conflicts with the public interest and should be avoided. These taxes unnecessarily burden consumers far in excess of the amount paid in taxes.

Every group has a right to enjoy a free market for its products. The consuming public should be given the right to buy the products it wants. Margarine should be placed in the same legal status as butter or any other wholesome food product. It would still be subject to all pure food laws and subject to the same laws against misrepresentation of its character or content that apply to butter or any other food.

Health authorities have pointed out that the food value of oleomargarine is equal to that of butter. While the vitamin A content is about the same, oleomargarine contains larger quantities of vitamin E than does butter. Oleomargarine is just as easily digested as is butter. The National Research Council states, and I quote:

> The present available scientific evidence indicates that when fortified margarine is used in place of butter as a source of fat in a mixed diet, no nutritional differences can be observed.

If lower-priced fats are more generally available for human consumption, there undoubtedly will be a tendency to use them more freely than when an extremely expensive fat, such as butter, must be purchased. Therefore, the removal of the restrictions on margarine would encourage a greater use of margarine in cooking and on the table, which in turn, would probably result in a further improvement in nutritional status of the average individual.

Those families that can afford to use butter will continue to do so. But those families who have had to reduce their consumption of fats because of the cost of butter and margarine, would be enabled to increase their use of fat through the purchase of margarine, when the price is lowered by removal of taxes.

Because of my interest in doing everything possible to reduce the cost of living, I signed the discharge petition several months ago to bring this legislation before the House, having been the fourteenth Member to sign the petition. The cost of food is the largest single item in the budget of the working people and I urge the Members to vote for H. R. 2245, to reduce the cost of this valuable food product by the removal of the unjust and discriminatory tax.

Mr. KNUTSON, Republican, Minnesota. Mr. Chairman, the general purpose of this legislation is to lower the cost of living, if possible, and of course we are all for that, but there are other things than butter prices that need correction. May I remind my good friend from South Carolina that we now have an import limitation of 29,000 bales on short-staple cotton, and 91,000 bales on longer cotton fiber, a year. That is not very much on a production basis of 11 million bales, which is the estimate for this year. I can think of no other agricultural product that is protected by an embargo. I find that textiles have gone up just the same as has butter and to the same degree. The price of cotton textiles has increased about 300 per cent since 1939. I want you cotton Members to listen to this because we are going to do something about it if the oleo tax is repealed. In that event we are going to do away with the quota, and it is my good fortune to be the chairman of the committee that can do it. The commodity index shows that the price of cotton textiles was 57 in 1939. In 1948 it is 168.9, an increase of about 300 per cent. I find that on the New York Cotton Exchange, short-staple cotton is being quoted at 38.14 cents a pound. Sheeting and shirting and all the other things in the manufacture of which cotton is used have also increased 300 per cent. It is not fair to differentiate between the cotton grower and the butter producer. But if you folks are prepared to go ahead and carry out your program, we are going to do something about cotton a little later on.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KNUTSON. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. RIVERS. I remember that you did not make any threats when we voted with you to override the President's veto so that we could reduce taxes.

Mr. KNUTSON. Oh, but you did not vote that way out of love for me or my party. You voted that way because your constituents demanded it of you. Deny it if you can.

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Mr. RIVERS. I am voting for the American people now, too, and no threat that you can make can deter me in my action.

Mr. KNUTSON. The gentleman cannot kid me.

Mr. RIVERS. I would not try to kid you, and neither can you kid me.

Mr. KNUTSON. No, the gentleman knows better than to try to kid me. He did not vote to reduce taxes because he wanted to vote with Republicans.

Mr. RIVERS. You do not remember the days when you came around asking us to help you. You remember that, do you not?

Mr. KNUTSON. I recall the gentleman coming to me of his own volition and telling me he was for tax reduction. His intelligence on that occasion did him credit.

Mr. RIVERS. You cannot remember those days, can you?

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, I do not yield any further.

I appreciate the gentleman's help, and I hope that the gentleman will not take a position that will prevent our cooperation in the future.

Mr. Chairman, I cannot yield further; I only have five minutes.

Mr. RIVERS. I yield the gentleman two more minutes in order to ask him a question.

Mr. KNUTSON. That is not enough time, because the gentleman would use it all himself.

Mr. RIVERS. Then I do not yield the gentleman any time.

Mr. KNUTSON. The duty on cotton 1⅛ inch or longer is 3½ cents a pound, and the current price is 42 cents. Can the gentleman justify that high price? Can anyone justify it? I am not saying that butter is not too high, but so is nearly everything else.

As for you poor misguided creatures who pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for the southern minority, I cannot understand you at all. You did what the New Dealers shied away from for 16 long years, and a few of you actually seem to be proud of your blindness.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman two more minutes to make a further statement along that line.

Mr. KNUTSON. I wish I had time to pay my compliments to the Republicans who signed the discharge rule in the way I really should like.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman another minute.

Mr. KNUTSON. New Deal Congresses had 16 years in which to take up oleo tax repeal, but it was too hot for them so a group of Republicans obligingly does it for them.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. HOPE, Republican, Kansas. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman three additional minutes.

Mr. KNUTSON. And the gentleman from South Carolina gave me two, which makes five.

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD, Republican, Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KNUTSON. No; I cannot yield further.

I want you Members from the cotton raising sections to just look ahead a little bit. Just as sure as you pass this tax repeal, we are going to bring down the price of wearing apparel into the manufacture of which cotton enters and just as surely are we going to remove all quotas on cotton imports. When we have to compete with the oleomargarine manufacturer who wants to put the dairyman out of business, I will say, as was said by some of the dictators over in Europe some years ago, "If you pull us down, by the eternal, we will pull you down with us." Think it over.

Mr. VURSELL, Republican, Illinois. When you vote for this bill, you vote to restrict the future opportunity of 1,750,000 boys and girls doing 4-H Club farm work. You vote to restrict the opportunity of these future farmers of America. There are 101,606 farm girls alone enrolled in dairy cattle activities. We need to encourage the boys and girls to stay on the farms. This bill, if enacted, will discourage them.

These farmers and their families for a market depend upon 5,000 creameries. This cream is a considerable part of their weekly cash income. They are not a part of any oleo corporation or lobby. They are just plain, hard-working, small farmers who work long hours, month after month to produce a little milk and cream, and many other farm products

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that the people in the villages and cities must have. . . .

The Department of Agriculture gave out a statement a few weeks ago that it would take ten years before dairy herds were built back up to the number necessary. There are 2,600,000 less dairy cows in the nation today than there were in 1945. There are 21 million less sheep and lambs in this nation today than in 1942. There are 38 million less hogs today than there were in 1944. That is the reason meat is so high at this time. Now by this legislation you will start the reduction of dairy cattle which means the reduction of milk, butter, and cheese. Through the sale of veal calves, heifers, and older dairy cattle comes approximately 35 per cent of the present beef supply of the nation, hence this legislation will add to the shortage of meat. It is well to go back and read this paragraph again so that you may better understand the terrible price the people and the economy of this nation will have to pay if this legislation is enacted.

With less cattle to slaughter each year it will not only mean less beef which will cause prices to go higher, but it will mean less hides, fats, oils, and tallow. Less hides will mean an increase in the cost of shoes, leather goods of all kinds including luggage. The women of this nation who have been deceived by this $6 million advertising campaign into writing the Congressmen in the hope of saving a few minutes' time in coloring oleo, or in the hope of saving a couple of dollars a year in the price of oleo, will find that they will be caused to spend five times as much as they save, when they buy purses, luggage, shoes, milk and, yes, oleo at higher prices.

Mr. ROBERTSON, Republican, North Dakota. I urge that every Congressman read and study the letter I received from the Cudahy Packing Co. which is one of the Nation's largest producers of margarine. This letter appears on page A2528 of last Wednesday's RECORD. Here is one margarine producer who has stuck to facts, who recognizes the threat to the dairy industry and sees the folly of the action contemplated today. As a margarine producer Cudahy has every reason to join the propaganda campaign of the other producers who have precipitated this crisis today. Do not take my word for this, read the story as written by Mr. F. W. Hoffman, president of the Cudahy Packing Co., of Chicago, Ill. It is truly revealing, and certainly without prejudice.

* * *

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN, Republican, Minnesota. Mr. Chairman, it is my purpose, during the few minutes which I have at my disposal, to try to show the House just what the passage of this legislation would mean to the average dairy farmer who produces butter in southwestern Minnesota. The Seventh Congressional District of Minnesota is the largest butter producer of the nine districts in our state. Because of the fact that we are approximately 200 miles from any large city, we farmers in that district cannot sell our milk as whole milk. We put it through a cream separator and skim it and then take the cream to our local village, where our cooperative creamery manufactures butter out of it and ships this butter by the carload to the eastern markets of the United States. On the farms, we utilize the rest of the milk—the skim milk—as feed for hogs and calves.

Our dairy economy is different from that of the farmers in the dairy business within operating radius of the large milk sheds such as those in the Twin Cities, Chicago, and New York. In those milk sheds the entire production of milk is shipped to the cities, and nothing is left to use on the farms. The price paid these people for their whole milk depends, of course, upon the butterfat content of that milk, and the money obtained for this whole milk is considerably higher than we receive in southwestern Minnesota for our butter and its by-product, skim milk.

The dairies near the large cities cannot afford to feed dairy calves and grow and develop them for future service as producing cows. In our territory, we can do so and we do furnish the areas near the cities with replacement stock for the cows that are disposed of.

I am trying to show you how the passage of this legislation will dislocate the dairy economy. First of all, it will tend to lower the price on butter, and if that is done it will mean that those farmers on the dairy farms who produce butter in my district will just simply sell their herds on the block—perhaps keeping

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one or two cows for their home use. My farmers cannot afford—when labor is costing $150 per month plus board and room—and when feed prices are as high as they are—to produce butter at a price under what they are receiving today.

Members of the House, there is no worse drudgery on a farm than in milking dairy cows 14 times a week—we have to have some reasonable profit therefrom if farmers are to continue milking cows. Through the war years, I have watched four of my nearest neighbors become disgusted and sell out their dairy herds simply because the O.P.A. decided that 71 cents a pound for butterfat was a fair payment for their production. I urged the foreman on my farm to keep our dairy herd although we did cut it in half in size because of the fact that we were actually losing money during the war years on our butter production. When O.P.A. was discontinued, the price of butterfat shot up immediately to approximately $1 a pound where it should have been all through the war if production meant anything whatsoever and was desirable. The butterfat sold from my farm during January brought $1 a pound—while that sold in February brought 94 cents a pound. These prices are not at all out of line when you consider the fact that good alfalfa hay is worth at least $15 a ton—oats sell for over $1 a bushel and the care which these cows must have is paid for at the rate of approximately $200 a month when board and room is taken into consideration. Nor when you consider that the average workingman today spends a smaller proportion of his wages on food than he did in 1939.

If Congress today discourages further—through the passage of this legislation—the production of dairy products throughout the United States—it will have an immediate and inevitable result. Farmers—like myself—in southwestern Minnesota—will immediately begin to ask ourselves—why should we continue the drudgery of milking cows if we are faced—in the near future—with uncontrolled and ruthless competition from a low-cost product sold in almost complete imitation of butter. It will be easy for my farmers to reach a decision—when they consider the present high prices of meat—and they will decide to go out of the dairy business entirely. The 16 dairy heifers which are on my farm and which my foreman is developing for the future expansion of the herd, will bring a very good price for beef on the markets in South St. Paul. We can sell the milk cows as they become dry later in the season and by fall there will be no dairy herd on that farm and the production of butter and other dairy products will go down just that much. Multiply this occurrence by 200,000 or 300,000 and you can readily see what the effect of the passage of this legislation will mean to the dairy industry of the United States. The children of America will either drink higher-priced milk in the future or do without it entirely.

Mr. BENNETT, Republican, Missouri. In the position which I occupy, I have learned to appreciate and respect the importance of agriculture to the economic well-being of my district. The farm population, according to the last census, is almost half the population of the district. All of the towns in the district are dependent in whole or part on farm prosperity for their very existence. Dairy farming is the principal type of farming in the district. Of the 29,667 farms in the district, 25,866 produce dairy products, with 17,936 devoted to dairying, and selling such products. The total value of these products sold in the district is, I repeat, $11,826,268 annually. That is the biggest farm industry in the district, and its profits are plowed back into the district.

In contrast, I repeat, only 1,233 district farms grow soybeans. Their sales value is $629,513 annually, or 5.3 per cent as large as the value of sales of dairy products.

Yes; butter is high. What the farmer has to buy is high, too. Feed is high. The drouth and foreign exports have seen to that. But, I am one representative who knows that the economic "bread" of his district is spread with butter and not oleo, which is to say that the well-being and prosperity of my district is dependent on the welfare of the dairy farmer, and I am on his side. To be otherwise would be to betray not only the majority interests but the best interests of my district. No vote of mine will destroy or impair the biggest supports in the foundation on which that district and the happiness of its people is built. That is a frank and honest statement on a contro-

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versial subject. With all due respect to the friends of oleo, which is a good product, I must say, look elsewhere for your champion. The welfare of the sixth district is not for trade for a few pennies tax per pound and a few minutes of oleo mixing time. Not if it is up to me to trade it. I will not sell out a $12 million farmer-built industry in my district for 600,000 pieces of silver.

Mr. GATHINGS, Democrat, Arkansas. Mr. Chairman, it is my purpose at this time to discuss some of the testimony that was adduced before the Committee on Agriculture.

A member of the United States Wholesale Grocers Association testified that in a poll of distributors many said they did not handle margarine—even though it enjoyed a position of preference to butter, in many cases—because of first, the taxes; second, the high license fees; and third—I will quote from his testimony here—"the bother, worry, and expense of making out monthly reports."

One member of the association reported that it cost him $100 a month just to fill out the required government forms.

It was brought out that another wholesaler discontinued selling margarine because of the fact that small retailers back away from handling it for the reason that the federal government puts into them the mortal fear of not abiding by the regulations and of fines for possible infractions.

Let us see what the government requires of wholesale distributors who have the courage to handle margarine. The regulations on wholesalers set forth seven specifications of record keeping, eleven specifications for handling monthly reports and more than nine penalties of fines and imprisonment for various violations. The regulations occupy six printed pages of an Internal Revenue Bureau pamphlet.

As one harassed wholesaler put it, you might think the wholesaler was handling a poisonous drug or lethal concoction or was trying to dispose of dynamite, T.N.T. or atomic bombs or was on the point of being lured into some form of supplying a black market or smuggling. Was anything ever more ridiculous and outlandish?

Now, let us take a look at the retailer who offers his customers oleomargarine.

The independent retail grocers of the country favor the repeal of these taxes on oleomargarine. In their opinion, it is tax persecution.

In 1947, 270,000 grocers paid a license to sell margarine in their stores. To many thousands of these dealers, a saving of $6—of the amount of the federal tax on sales of uncolored margarine—represents the net profit on about $200 in sales. In other words, in order to pay the tax alone, a retail merchant must first sell $200 worth of margarine.

In addition—and this is the most important aspect that we have to consider here—the tax operates in such a manner as to prevent thousands of retailers from selling margarine at all. This situation, therefore, denies millions of consumers, who cannot afford to pay the high prices for butter, an opportunity of purchasing the more reasonably priced margarine.

I cannot emphasize too strongly that the grocers who cannot afford the tax and cannot afford the office assistance which is required to fill out the forms are not located in the neighborhoods of the well-to-do consumer. The majority of these grocery stores are located in the poorer neighborhoods, the neighborhoods of the laboring man and woman, the neighborhoods where the saving of one cent on a food item is a matter of grave importance.

LICENSE FEES

The license fees for the retail grocers impose still another inequity. The small, independent merchant pays the same tax and license fee as the large chain store. While to a chain grocer doing a large volume of business, the fee of $6 or $48 may be a mere trifle, to the corner grocery store, it means much as he struggles against overwhelming competition.

As I have said, the burden of paying the license fee is not the only expense and hardship for the retailer. There is also the mystic and maddening maze of highly technical regulations and requirements which he must follow.

First of all, the retailer must file a special tax return on his margarine transactions; then he must be sure to display conspicuously his tax stamp or pay a fine of $10. If one of his partners die or withdraws or additional partners are taken into the firm or if he changes his name or relocates his place of business—

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(whew, gentlemen, is there ever any end?) he must remember to file another form with the collector or pay a penalty.

Not only does he have to do all of that, but this unique law, this daisy of a duty, requires still more: listen to this: If a customer enters his store and buys over ten pounds of margarine and the grocer fails to have the customer make payment in at least two separate transactions the grocer will, under the regulations, be classified as a wholesaler and required to pay $200 for a license, plus a penalty for failure to file a return.

Why, an innocent mistake like this, it has been testified, would cost the small grocer his profits for many months.

Let me give you just one more aspect of this ridiculous tax. He must be sure at all times that all sales of margarine are conducted and completed in his place of business. Thus, we have been told by one retailer, that his delivery boy cannot deliver a pound of margarine at the home of Mrs. Jones unless she included this item in her grocery order. The grocery boy may have the margarine in his truck, but he cannot sell it to Mrs. Jones—because the transaction must be under the roof of the grocery store.

I hold that under no conceivable circumstances of justice and equity can we any longer countenance these outrageous margarine taxes, taxes which penalize the storekeeper and the consuming public. . . .

Now let me touch briefly on the unhealthy discrimination in business competition which these tax laws permit. In the hearing on the pending measure before the House Committee on Agriculture, Mr. Archibald L. M. Wiggins, the distinguished Under Secretary of the Treasury, revealed some startling conclusions which the Treasury Department holds regarding the margarine taxes.

Said Mr. Wiggins—and I quote:

> The legislative history of these taxes and the considerations advanced in their defense during their long history indicate that their purpose is to buttress the competitive position of the dairy industry by discouraging the consumption of a substitute commodity.

Is that the sort of statement that upholders of the system of free enterprise can take with equanimity?

But let me further quote from the testimony of the Under Secretary. Mr. Wiggins declared before the committee—I am quoting his testimony:

> The basic issue raised by the oleomargarine taxes—

He said—

> is the propriety and desirability of using the tax laws to affect the relative position of competing industries, both of which use domestic agriculture raw materials. In the case of oleomargarine—

And I am still quoting Mr. Wiggins—

> the taxing power is used as a punitive measure against one industry to advance the interests of another. In the process, the public is deterred from the free exercise of its consumer preferences. It is the view of the Treasury Department—

Mr. Wiggins continued—

> that the use of the taxing power to distort the normal development of competing industries and to deprive them of the full benefit of the free enterprise system conflicts with the public interest, and in the absence of compelling consideration, should be avoided.

While I am dealing with the testimony from the Treasury Department, I should also like to add an additional thought: It is the view of the Treasury Department, that the tax burden alone reflects only part of the cost of these taxes to the consumers. In other words, aside from running up the price of oleomargarine, a fundamental burden, the tax, by preventing most merchants from carrying the product, therefore forces a consumer to pay, say, 90 cents a pound for butter when the housewife may prefer to buy 41-cents-a-pound margarine.

The present situation has resulted in all but one out of every hundred grocers from stocking colored margarine. And under the prevailing conditions only one merchant out of fifty has the courage and the resources to stock uncolored margarine.

* * *

Mr. ABERNETHY, Democrat, Mississippi. Who favors removal of the taxes? Let us call the roll and see.

The consumers, generally, throughout America favor removal of the taxes. Do you represent any of them?

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The Retail Grocers' Association of the United States favors removal of the taxes.

The Wholesale Grocers' Association of the United States favors removal of the taxes. I would like for some of you to keep score as I go along.

The housewives of the United States favor removal of the taxes; and the husbands, who by some of the wives are forced to mix the margarine, also favor removal of the taxes. If you check your mail you will find that that is true.

The hospitals of the United States, which are forced to pay a $600 manufacturers' tax if they use colored margarine, favor removal of the taxes.

The restaurants and dining rooms of the United States favor removal of the taxes.

The labor organizations of the United States, all of them, favor removal of the taxes.

The women's organizations of the United States favor removal of the taxes. I do not remember a single one appearing before our committee in favor of their retention.

One of the veterans' organizations appeared before our committee and favored removal of the taxes. None appeared in opposition.

The American Association of Small Business appeared before the Agriculture Committee and favored removal of the taxes.

The people who use butter only were polled by the Atlantic Monthly and they favored removal of the margarine tax. The people who use margarine only were polled by the Atlantic Monthly and they favored removal of the taxes. The farmers of the country were polled by the Atlantic Monthly and the Gallup poll and a majority of them favored removal of the taxes.

The press of the country favors removal of the taxes.

The radio and radio commentators favor removal of the taxes.

Well, who does that leave favoring retention of the taxes? Only the Cudahy Packing Co. Why do they favor the retention?

The answer is that until a few months ago Cudahy had a monopoly on a new mixing package invented by a man named Peters. Through this monopoly Cudahy leaped from one of the lowest of 26 margarine manufacturers to either third or fourth position. In the letter which Cudahy recently distributed among you, they said not one word about their monopoly or their contract with Peters. Oh, no; they said nothing about that but they sent a witness before our committee from whom the facts were evoked. I charge that Cudahy's position is entirely a selfish one and they are in a class by themselves as no other margarine manufacturer to my knowledge opposes this legislation.

Oh, yes; I was about to forget Mr. Peters. He, too, appeared before our committee and favored retention. Of course this only means a matter of near on to a million dollars each year for him, for once the taxes are repealed and manufacturers are permitted to manufacture colored margarine, then his little capsule will not be worth 15 cents. I do not blame him. Certainly not. But the facts are that a majority of the people of this land in each and every group favor removal of the taxes. Everyone is out of step but the Cudahy Packing Co. and Mr. Peters.

* * *

Mr. LEMKE, Republican, North Dakota. May I also call the attention of the Members of this House, and the public to the fact that we must not be foolish enough to cut off our noses to spite our faces. It has been incorrectly stated that the farmer gets 76 cents out of every dollar you pay for butter. That is not true.

The farmer pays for the raising of the calf until it becomes a cow. He pays for the parent stock producing the calf. He feeds and houses the calf until it becomes a cow. Then, he pays for the labor and the feed to produce the milk that produces the butter. The same cow also produces the calf that produces the veal cutlets and veal roasts you so much desire. The same cow also produces the milk that you drink, as well as the butter you eat.

It is a balanced economy, and the farmer and his family get less for providing you with this balanced economy than you who work in the cities and towns. Why should you now, because of a false hysteria created by paid advertisements, permit yourselves to be fooled and to destroy this economy upon which you and your families depend?

No, we must not become the victims of false

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hysteria. Some leading manufacturers of oleomargarine have sense enough to know that this kind of legislation is dangerous, and may even spell disaster for oleomargarine.

Mr. POAGE, Democrat, Texas. Mr. Chairman, those of us who propose the repeal of the punitive taxes and regulations now levied and imposed on the manufacture, distribution, and sale of margarine do not ask special favors for any product of the American farm, and I do not believe that any group in this country has any right to deny a food produced by another group a right to openly and honestly compete for the consumers' patronage. And that, Mr. Chairman, is the heart of the present controversy.

Those of us who ask the repeal of these discriminatory taxes and license fees believe in free enterprise, and we believe that every group has the same right to enjoy a free market for its products. We believe in the freedom of the consuming public to buy the product they want. We believe that government exceeds its proper function when it tells the housewife that if she desires to buy yellow margarine that she must pay a penalty to the government, but that if she is willing to pay twice as much for a pound of butter artificially colored with the same yellow coloring that her government will assess no penalty.

The effect of such a policy is nothing more than to license the butter manufacturers to collect from the consumer the penalty which the government imposes upon a competitor's product. That is, this was the effect when the consumer could get butter. But, to aggravate an unexcusable piece of favoritism, the original beneficiaries of this tax-created quasi monopoly have smugly accepted all of the benefits of government favoritism with no recognition of any responsibility toward the public to even supply the needed table spread. This utter disregard for the needs of the public is readily shown by the failure of the butter industry to supply the butter the public needs. In 1901, the last year the American people were free to buy colored margarine, they consumed 19.9 pounds of butter per capita and 1.6 pounds of margarine. In 1902, the first year of the tax against colored margarine, the consumption of margarine fell off to nine-tenths of a pound per person, but either the demand or the supply of butter also fell off, because in 1902 we consumed only 17.5 pounds of butter.

Certainly no butter producer profited by this attack on margarine. As a matter of fact, butter producers never have gained anything from the dog-in-the-manger attitude, and I propose to show conclusively that it has been exactly that—a dog-in-the-manger attitude—which has helped no one, but which has lowered the whole standard of American living, especially the living standards of those least able to pay the exorbitant prices charged for tax-protected butter in the retail stores of the great cities.

In 1901 the American people enjoyed 21.5 pounds of spread per capita. Never since this punitive tax was placed on yellow margarine by the butter interests has there been so much spread. Never has there been so much butter available. Last year the American people were able to buy only 11.2 pounds of butter per capita—less than 60 per cent of what they were using when the butter interests secured this legislative quasi monopoly. Is that fair play? Is that free enterprise? Do we not recognize that where public utilities are given monopolies or partial monopolies that in turn they owe the public a duty to supply the public needs and at reasonable prices? Certainly the butter industry has shamefully failed to supply the public need. On the other hand, margarine, laboring under the handicap of the most vicious and undemocratic punitive taxes ever levied against a wholesome food product in our country, has increased its production from 1.6 pounds per capita in 1901 to approximately five pounds last year.

And what about price? What has the butter industry done to carry out its obligations as a governmentally favored quasi monopoly? Let me say, Mr. Chairman, that I do not believe in price controls in peacetime, and surely I would not complain of any price the butter people saw fit to establish in a free competitive economy, but since they have seen fit to take themselves out of such a free competitive economy, and to invoke the strong arm of the federal government in behalf of their monopolistic position, they must, in good conscience, be willing to assume some degree of public responsibility in return. I think I have shown that they have either failed terribly in their

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duty to provide the public with an adequate supply of butter, or worse, they have used their governmental protection to deliberately reduce the supply of butter in an effort to increase their profits at the expense of the very American citizens who gave them their favored position. Surely no one will contend that present prices of butter are such as to encourage the widespread use of the product. Actually, what is happening is that the distributors are letting their greed destroy the long-time interests of the dairy farmer, just as governmentally favored groups always do.

The very next day after the majority of the Agriculture Committee voted not to consider any repeal of the taxes on margarine, the price of butter went up eight cents, and the next day it advanced another five cents right here in Washington. After this spectacular evidence that the butter processors were committed to a policy of charging the consumer all the traffic would bear, I undertook to find out just what benefits the producer, the man who milks the cows, received from this gouge of the consuming public. I called five of the leading processing dairies of Washington. These were all wholesale establishments who buy milk from the farmer. I asked how much they had increased the price they paid for milk. Not one claimed to have increased their payments to farmers by a single cent. No, my friends, it is not the actual farmer who profits by this monopoly.

In the long run, the farmer makes far more out of the sale of fluid milk than he does out of the sale of butter. The nation gets far more nutritional value out of fluid milk. We do not produce nearly enough fluid milk to meet our minimum needs. Only high retail prices prevent the consumption of far more fluid milk in this country to the mutual benefit of the dairy farmer and the consumer. Who is today sabotaging the increase in the use of fluid milk? Surely the farmer does not receive too much, but clearly the public is often charged too much. I have recently returned from the great milk-producing state of Wisconsin, where on my trip I paid 20 cents for a glass of milk on the railroad diner. Of course, people rather expect to be gouged on dining cars, but when I had to pay 13 cents per glass in a restaurant, I wondered if the same people who have reduced America's butter supply in order to gouge the consumers might not be now applying the same tactics to the dairy farmers who have so long supplied the farmer interest which these distributors have claimed to represent. My suggestion to my dairy farmers is to cut loose from a distribution system that is based on the monopolistic principles of scarcity and prices as high as the traffic will stand and join up with the more modern and more successful principle of abundance at fair prices.

Coca-Cola has done a better job of selling its product in competition with Pepsi-Cola, and a whole host of other drinks that look and taste like it, without any special tax on its competitors, than the butter monopoly has in expanding any market for the dairy farmers. If I were a dairy farmer, I believe I would be looking for some new leadership, and maybe that is what the dairy farmers of Wisconsin have decided who recently asked for repeal of their state's almost prohibitive taxes against margarine.

I do not want to take your time with a discussion of the question of the relative purity of the two products. Suffice it to say that while the propaganda package of the butter industry contains a second edition of a booklet entitled "Colored Oleo Sold as Butter," this book recites the history of only six such cases and conveniently forgets to state the period of years covered. Evidently it goes back a number of years, but I have seen the record of seizures of both margarine and of butter by the United States Food and Drug Administration for the past 17 years. Since 1930 there have been only 32 seizures of margarine. Only two of these involved filth. During the same time there were 2,910 seizures of butter, and 652 of these involved filth. Last year there were 127 seizures of butter and not one of margarine. Who does it look like should be policed?

"Tommy, isn't it rather extravagant to eat both butter and jam on your bread at the same time?"

"Oh, no, Mother. It's economy. You see, the same piece of bread does for both."

—*Sunshine*

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